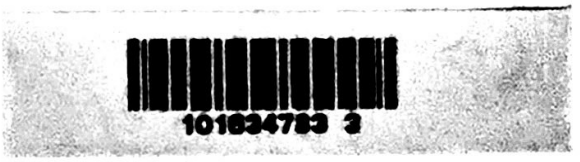
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COINAGE OF THE CRUSADES AND THE LATIN EAST

COINAGE OF THE CRUSADES AND THE LATIN EAST

IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OXFORD

BY

D. M. METCALF

Keeper of the Heberden Coin Room

ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY AND
SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF THE CRUSADES
AND THE LATIN EAST

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PREFACE

THIS volume was commissioned as part of the programme to commemorate the tercentenary of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1683–1983). It puts on record, in a form influenced by the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, a well-rounded cabinet of about 870 coins of the Crusades and the Latin East. The collection is a modern one which has been built up particularly to demonstrate topics of current research. In sylloge style almost all the coins are illustrated, and the written descriptions have been kept to a minimum. Types not represented in the collection have, where possible, been illustrated in the introduction by means of line-drawings.

As no serious catalogue of coins of the Latin East has been published since Gustave Schlumberger's *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, which appeared under the patronage of the Société de l'Orient latin[1] in 1878 with a supplement in 1882, I have taken the opportunity to add a critical survey gathering up the results of scattered researches, and also a check-list of hoards—again, influenced by the usefulness of the list of Viking-age hoards in Michael Dolley's *The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum*. I hope that the introductory sections will serve as an up-to-date guide to the literature, and that they will help historians to understand what numismatists seek to do.

The activity of numismatists is summed up in the word 'classification'. Just as every man has a parish, so every coin has a mint, and it is the numismatist's basic task to establish with as much certainty and precision as possible where, and when, each piece was struck. He has at his disposal two extremely powerful modern techniques, namely stylistic analysis and the analysis of hoards, which complement and control each other. These two techniques are sovereign. They are supplemented by others, in particular the study of die-linkage, metrological analysis, and metal analysis. But the results accruing from all of them are gathered up in the statement of a classification.

Although the methods of numismatic analysis benefit from subtlety and experience in their exercise, they are not in the least mysterious. When a series of coins is divided into Classes 1a, 1b, 2, etc. (or types, or varieties—the terms are in use rather indiscriminately), the layman should not suppose that it is permissible for him to 'switch off' at that point, for classification is absolutely central to the description of coinage for historical purposes. The object is simply that the varieties, recognizable by stylistic or other criteria that can be defined, should correspond with

[1] This Society was largely the vehicle for the enthusiasm and financial generosity of Count Paul Riant. Although it was Anatole de Barthélemy who first suggested the work to Schlumberger, one may suspect that Riant urged him on. Perhaps he was even too zealous, for the book was never Schlumberger's favourite child. It left him with the sentiment that it had cost him a great deal of work. Cf. G. Schlumberger, *Mes souvenirs, 1844–1928* (1934), vol. 1, 205 f. and elsewhere.

the output of successive short periods in the working of a mint. Until a detailed classification has been evolved, it is generally impossible either to date the coins closely, or to describe the contents of hoards adequately; and conversely it is by a statistical comparison of hoards—the proportions of the varieties and sub-varieties represented in each one—that the classification is usually put to the test. As new hoards come to light (on a time-scale of many decades) they may reveal faults in the existing classification, and create opportunities for a more refined and exact stylistic analysis. Then, of course, the student wishes that he could go back and redescribe the old hoards. Thus modern numismatics marches slowly forward, on two legs.

Schlumberger, for whom collecting and associating with other leading collectors was a major part of his intellectual life, was a very experienced numismatist. It is surprising to realize that, although obviously he had an intuitive understanding of style and of the evidential value of hoards, he did not press either technique into service. His *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* relies on these methods hardly at all. He used the evidence of overstriking to quite good effect, but apart from that, he was innocent of any intention to make the coins yield information that they were not aware, so to speak, of possessing. Even Schlumberger's eventual successors in research in the 1930s, Dorothy H. Cox and Henry Longuet, approached their task of classification in a manner that would nowadays be judged somewhat amateurish.[2] It was Derek Allen, schooled in the fine tradition of the British Numismatic Society, who in 1937 first set about categorizing the 'helmet' deniers of Antioch into Type 1a, b, c, Type 2, and so on.[3] Although his contribution to the subject ran to only a dozen pages, it was so truly aligned towards the future, pointing like the needle of a compass always towards the north, that he should be remembered as an originator who helped to give the numismatics of the Latin East intellectual seriousness.

Similarly, the detailed recording of hoards—the other leg on which the subject stands—has been neglected until all too recently. The check-list of about 150 hoards printed below contains too many which have been dispersed with only the most meagre record of their contents. The main outlines of the currencies of Cyprus and of the Latin Empire are discernible, but from Syria and Palestine, and especially from the twelfth century—just where the information would be most precious—there are lamentably few hoards that can be closely dated. All this lies as a reproach to the numismatic fraternity, who could undoubtedly create much new information, if given access to the material. One thinks of the hundreds of articles in the *British Numismatic Journal*, the *Numismatic Circular*, and elsewhere which during the 1950s and 1960s turned Anglo-Saxon coinage into such an exciting field of study. A similarly lavish research effort is needed in order to bring the coinage of the Latin East into focus.

The subject, then, is of surprisingly recent maturity, and its development still lies in the future. The formation of the next generation of students calls for a clear

[2] D. H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard* (New York, 1933), marked a great advance. The types plentifully represented in the hoard deserved a more minute stylistic analysis and fuller illustration. The extent of die-duplication could have been established, and the weights of the coins could have been studied. H. Longuet, 'La trouvaille de Kessab en Orient Latin', *RN*[4] 37 (1935) was a sketchier hoard-report.

[3] D. F. Allen, 'Coins of Antioch, etc., from al-Mina', *NC*[5] 17 (1937), 200–10.

understanding of, and commitment to, rigorous methods of analysis, combined with an exact knowledge of what has been achieved so far.

The application of that knowledge will be, in the first instance, to the writing of monetary history. Characteristically it involves studying numismatic information which in itself is very reliable but of which the import, if any, remains unclear. As the information is supplemented by new discoveries, its significance may become more obvious, and occasionally a dramatically changed reading of it for monetary history may be argued. In the introduction I have tried briefly to indicate the context of each series of coins. Proper discussions of monetary history, however, would need to be structured quite differently from a catalogue. All the coins current at a particular period of time, for example, would need to be considered together, whereas for the purpose of classification and cataloguing it is sometimes better to group them by denomination.

Although a grasp of monetary history will occasionally throw light on numismatic problems, the traffic is mostly one way. However attractive an interpretation of monetary affairs may be, the hard lesson to be learnt from other fields of medieval numismatics is that it must in cases of conflict submit to the authority of the coins themselves. Excepting, obviously, any errors of judgement or misinformation at source (e.g. where coins have been deceptively intruded into a hoard by a middleman), the facts that numismatic classification creates are very hard and durable facts.

In conjunction with the hoards, they serve to construct a picture of the currency. Regional currencies have a built-in continuity, just as regional populations have a continuity. The historian may catch only intermittent glimpses of them, but they are there all the time. Their character may change little from one generation to the next; or there may be rapid change; or sometimes even they may be decimated or swept away and replaced. A coin is not like a medal, which carries and conveys its message in itself, as an individual object. Coins are survivors—a tiny handful, normally, from a 'population' that once numbered hundreds of thousands or even millions—and their message to the historian is essentially an account of the many that did not survive.

* * *

It is a source of particular pleasure that this volume should have been published jointly by the Royal Numismatic Society and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. The joint imprint is a symbol of the close co-operation between numismatists and general historians which is so much to be desired.[4] 'Numismatics, if it is to be anything more than inspired antiquarianism, involves something other than accurate observation and recording of detail. Coins are produced for economic ends, not as pieces of metal on which types and mint marks

[4] The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, held in September 1979, had the same purpose. Its proceedings were published as *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf), BAR International Series, vol. 77 (Oxford, 1980).

are inscribed for purposes comprehensible only to initiates. Without seeing them in their economic setting they cannot be fully understood. Economic historians and numismatists alike must welcome all attempts made by scholars to bridge the gap between two subjects which in the past have often stood too far apart.' That comment, made on the occasion of the International Numismatic Congress at Paris in 1953 by Philip Grierson—who guided my early studies in numismatics at Cambridge—reflects a standpoint that remains necessary today. Bridging the gap is not a once-for-all operation: the effort needs to be constantly renewed.

The scope of the catalogue differs from Schlumberger's in that west European imports are included, and that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are (with minor exceptions) omitted. When does the Latin East become the Levant; when do the Middle Ages merge into the early modern period in the history of east Mediterranean commerce? By about 1400 major changes have taken place. Venetian issues for the Levant have been excluded from consideration, as have most of the Genoese colonial coins, those from the period of Venetian domination in Cyprus, and the issues of the Knights of St. John after they left Rhodes.

It is a pleasant duty to draw attention to the generous donations of coins by Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd., including a handsome gold zecchino of the Knights of St. John, given in memory of the late Colin Kraay, who asked me to write this catalogue. Others who kindly gave coins to fill gaps, while the work was in progress, include Stephen Album, Nicholas du Quesne Bird, the Revd Iain Campbell, Roberto Pesant, Christopher Sabine, Arnold Spaer, Carl H. Subak, and Henry L. Weller. The financial generosity of Mr Leslie Fletcher eased the problem of the book's production costs substantially. And the Societies should be grateful for the genial financial wizardry of Mr du Quesne Bird, without whose good offices in arranging a commercial loan, it might well not have been possible to publish it at all.

Much of the typescript was carefully scrutinized by Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith, Dr P. W. Edbury, and Captain C. J. Sabine, and I am indebted to each of them for numerous helpful comments and suggested improvements to the text. I must thank Captain Sabine also for his kind permission to reproduce Figs. 11, 15, and 16.

The admirable direct photographs of the coins were made by Miss Sara Lucas and Miss Anne Holly, in the photographic studio of the Ashmolean Museum. In order to allow the reader to appreciate the smaller details of their style, selected pieces have been shown also in enlargement. I am grateful, finally, to Mrs Eve Marles, who typed the often untidy manuscript with cheerful skill and care, and to Mr Graham Halsey, Mr David Phipps, and their colleagues in the Printing Division of Oxford University Press, whose professionalism knows no bounds.

D. M. M.

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CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINAGE OF THE LATIN EAST

This essay on classification is arranged under the same twenty-five section headings as the Catalogue which follows it.

1. BEFORE THE FIRST CRUSADE

WEST European coins from the Holy Land which clearly antedate the First Crusade may have been carried there by pilgrims. Thus, two Norman deniers, dated by Françoise Dumas to the first third of the eleventh century,[1] were acquired in Beirut in May 1886 and may be presumed to be from a hoard. Five specimens of similar date occurred, alongside coins from Brittany, in what is clearly a traveller's hoard found near Istanbul in 1875.[2] But a more prosaic alternative explanation which should not be overlooked is that coins reached the Holy Land as a result of trade by Italian merchants, for there is evidence that Norman deniers were the currency of the region around Naples in the eleventh century.[3]

The stray finds from Acre include a coin of Lyon in the name of Rudolph III (993–1032), which may well antedate the First Crusade;[4] and the same is true of two coins, from Champagne and from Pavia, which form part of a necklace in the Kadman Numismatic Museum, at Tel-Aviv.[5]

2. THE JOURNEY TO THE EAST

The passage of the Second Crusade is the most likely occasion for the loss of Austrian or German coins of the mid-twelfth century in Asia Minor.[1]

A rare Austrian coin of Enns, obtained by a tourist in Antalya in 1966, is of

[1] Hoard no. 1 (below, p. 89).

[2] Hoard no. 73. Cf. also hoard no. 35 (Salamis). Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Le trésor de Samos', proposed a date of 1096 for the Istanbul hoard (but cf. Dumas, in *RN*[6] 21 (1979), at p. 113). Note the uncertainty of the attribution to Alan III or IV of Brittany.

[3] A. Sambon, 'Les deniers rouennais, monnaie courante du comté d'Aversa près de Naples aux XI[e] et XII[e] s.', *Gazette numismatique française* 1898, 325–30; V. Luneau, 'Quelques deniers normands inédits du XI[e] s.', *RN* 1906, 306–16; ibid. 1911, 86–96.

[4] D. M. Metcalf, 'Some hoards and stray finds from the Latin East', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 139–52, at p. 146 (no. 60).

[5] Ibid., pp. 139–41.

[1] A number of hoards are reviewed, and their dating discussed, in P. Grierson, 'A German Crusader's hoard of 1147 from Side (Turkey)', *Lagom, Festschrift für Peter Berghaus* (Münster, 1981), pp. 195–203. When travellers' hoards are found in the Balkans, rather than Asia Minor, one cannot in principle be sure that the destination was the Holy Land. For a hoard from northern Yugoslavia (coins of Limoges and Albi), see D. M. Metcalf, 'The money of a medieval French traveller in the Balkans', *NC*[7] I (1961), 145–9; and for the Niš hoard (mostly of Amiens and Beauvais, from the first half of the eleventh century), see E. Chami, F. Dumas, and J. Vittoz, 'Découvertes de monnaies autour de la Basse-Œuvre à Beauvais', *BSFN* 1976–80, 54–7.

a type that has come to light again more recently in a hoard said to have been found in Thrace.

Three more stray finds from Turkey were acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1972. One had been bought at Manavgat, and the other two in Antalya, in the sort of small shop that makes it unlikely that any of them was a stray from the 'Thracian' hoard. One of the three new coins is from the mint of Neunkirchen in lower Austria, another may well be of the same origin, and the third is from an unidentified German or Austrian mint. One wonders whether the coins reached Antalya with Otto of Freisingen's party on the Second Crusade.[2]

3. 'ERAT HAEC NOSTRA MONETA'

THE PREFERRED CURRENCIES: COINS OF LUCCA AND VALENCE

The chronicler Raymond d'Aguilers mentions coins from seven different mints that were used by the members of the First Crusade. He writes, '*Valebat . . . unus aureus* [*sarracenae monetae*] *eo tempore octo vel novem solidos monetae nostri exercitus. Erat haec nostra moneta: Pictavini, Cartenses, Manses, Luccenses, Valenziani, Melgorienses, et duo pogesi pro uno istarum.*' A small hoard discovered in the Antioch excavations in 1932 consisted of all but two of these issues: fifteen coins of Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Melgueil and Le Puy.[1] Their concealment has been tentatively associated with the capture of Antioch in 1098.[2] The same types have frequently turned up in other hoards or as site-finds or stray-finds throughout Syria and Palestine. But the coins of Lucca and Valence so greatly outnumber the other five types in the Latin East as to have provoked the suggestion that they were 'preferred currencies'—that is to say deliberately imported, and retained in circulation, in quantities which ran into millions.[3] It has even been suspected that some varieties might be locally made copies; the proof of this would have to be sought in a comparison with the range of varieties found in Italy and France respectively.

The choice of coins of Lucca and Valence, from among the numerous local issues of twelfth-century Europe, is curious, even though they were among the more plentiful coinages of their time. A possible explanation is that the types were selected in honour of the early Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, namely Daimbert of Pisa, and Bernard of Valence: these would be the familiar currencies of the cities from which they came.[4] The coins of Valence seem, indeed, to be relatively more plentiful in northern Syria, but both types mingled together in circulation in the Latin Kingdom and elsewhere. The suggestion concerning the Latin patriarchates involves the assumption that Raymond d'Aguilers' statement (that coins of Valence

[2] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 (1971 edn.), 267, 268 n. 2, and 270.

[1] S. H. Weber, 'The coins', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1934), 80; D. B. Waage, ibid., vol. 4, part 2, *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952), 171.

[2] Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Le trésor de Samos', at p. 203. But, of course, there is nothing to say that it could not be a few years later.

[3] Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch'; id., 'Coins of Lucca and Valence from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *HBN* 27/29 (1973/5), 67.

[4] Id., 'Crusader coinages associated with the Latin patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch', *NCirc* 87 (1979), 445–6.

were used on the First Crusade) is anachronistic, since Bernard of Valence was not appointed to the see of Antioch until 1100. There are, at least, no coins of Valence in the Antioch hoard.

The numismatist's task is to build up a description of the currency of the western issues, showing how it varied from region to region, and evolved from decade to decade. The basis must be a classification of the coins into varieties, preparatory to measuring the changing proportions of those varieties in the currency.

LUCCA

Among the denari of Lucca in the name of Otto, the Crusader hoards contain coins in a neat style, and others in a rough style. Although it is not easy to point to objective criteria by which one can draw a line between the two styles, their separation in some of the hoards, particularly the Second Subak hoard, was very clear to the eye. It is supported by metrological differences and, more importantly, by a difference in the fineness of the coins.

Six coins in 'neat' style from the First Subak hoard were found to have silver contents of 49, 48, 48, 48, 47, and 46 per cent. Allowing for some residual impurity in the refined silver, one may surmise that the intended alloy standard was 6 oz. fine. Six other coins, in rough style, from the Second Subak hoard, were analysed by the same technique, and were found to contain 40, 38, 37, 34, 34, and 34 per cent silver.

The rough coins in the second hoard had an average weight of 0·918 g, compared with 0·973 g for the first hoard. The weight-standard was, however, more carefully controlled, belying the crude appearance of the pieces. Taking weight and alloy together, the intrinsic value of the rough coins was only 71 per cent of the neat coins.

Were the rough coins made in Italy, and imported; or were they local imitations? The hoard-evidence from Italy is lacking, but there are arguments based on weight and fineness which hint that they may have been imitations. San Quintino, in a remarkable study presented to the Royal Lucchese Academy in 1819,[5] analysed a considerable number of Lucchese denari. He found that those of the tenth-century dukes of Tuscany, weighing about 1·25 g, were still very close to the Carolingian standard, at 10 oz. 18 d. fine. Those of Otto II (967–83) are similar. The best of the coins inscribed HENRICVS weigh about 1·07 g and are 10 oz. fine. A coin weighing only 0·77 g, but apparently like the oldest of the neat coins in the First Subak hoard (not analysed on this occasion) was 9 oz. fine, while another, apparently comparable in style with the six 'neat' coins mentioned above, although weighing only 0·8 g, was 5 oz. 2 d. fine. A very rough coin of Henry weighing 0·77 g was 6 oz. fine, and one of Frederick (1152–90) weighing 0·75 g was 5 oz. fine. The mint of Lucca seems to have reduced the weight of the denari to about 0·75 g, at a date which may have been *c.* 1140 or even earlier. The 'rough' coins found in the Holy Land seem not to fit this pattern of debasement: they are about 4½ oz. fine, but distinctly heavier than 0·75 g. Did San Quintino happen to choose specimens of below average weight?—or were the lighter Lucchese issues found unacceptable in the Holy Land, prompting the issue of local replacements on the old standard? The question must unfortunately remain open for the time being.

VALENCE

The anonymous coins of the bishops of Valence, in the name of St. Apollinaris, have an angel as their type. Eventually the figure of the angel degenerated until it could be

[5] G. C. di San Quintino, 'Della zecca et della moneta degli antichi Marchesi della Toscana', *Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca*, vol. 11 (1860), 63–108.

mistaken for an eagle. The coins were in vogue through much of the twelfth century, and an extensive stylistic analysis is possible. Coins from various hoards from the Latin East have been arranged into five groups (Fig. 1), which may be subject to

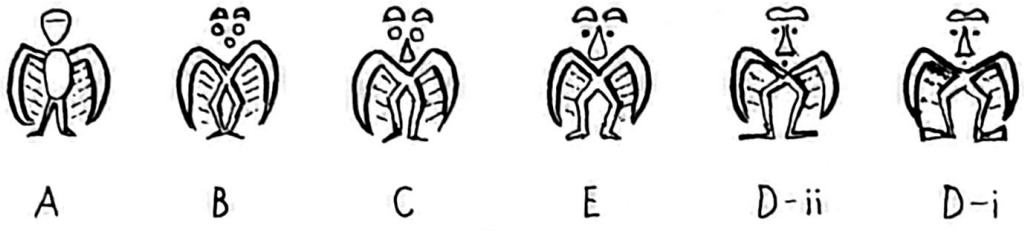


FIG. 1

some detailed revision, although Groups A and B are undoubtedly earlier than C–E. They are also less fully represented in the hoards.

Group A. The angel is recognizable as a figure in the human shape, with a torso.
Group B. Close to A, but with a central X where wings and thighs intersect.
Group C. Large face, and coarse workmanship.
Group D. Triangular nose; three rows of dots for the feathers of the wings.
Group D i. A compact stylistic group, in which the 'angel' has thick feet. The 'eyebrows' are usually two separate crescents.
Group D ii. Stylistically very similar to D i except that the feet are represented by thin lines. The eybrows are usually overlapping and the head is that much narrower.
Group E. A taller angel than in Group D, with four rows of dots for the feathers of the wings. The nose is often rounded or bulbous, rather than sharply triangular.

Analysis of six specimens of Group A from the First Subak hoard showed that their silver contents were 67, 63, 62, 61, 56, and 55 per cent. Six coins from the Second Subak hoard gave markedly lower and more consistent results: Group D i,

TABLE. *Numbers of Groups A–E of the coins of Valence in various hoards*

	'Izmir'	Antioch hoard 1978/9	Antioch hoard (Havardjian)	First Subak	Second Subak	Aleppo	Ras Shamra
A	3	1?	—	9	1	—	1
B	1	1?	—	32	1	—	4
C	3	1	—	9	1	—	6
E	—	1	3	28	1	3	4
D ii	—	—	—	27	4	2	15
D i	—	—	—	16	3	1	28

41, 39, and 38 per cent silver; Group D ii, 39 and 39 per cent; Group E, 33 per cent. Two further coins of Group E from the Aleppo hoard gave 35 per cent. Although more evidence is desirable, these results give reason to think that Group E has slightly lower average silver contents than Group D.

Whether Group E is later in date than D remains an open question. The proportions in the hoards would be more natural if the order were reversed, and it may

be that Group D represents a restored coinage or even—again—a local imitation of a well-known type. Two recent hoards of Antiochene deniers probably from the time of Saladin's conquests can be seen, on this arrangement, as terminating with Group E; but the numbers are so small that the absence of Group D is not statistically significant. The average weights of the later varieties in the 'First Subak' hoard are: E, 1·07 g, D ii, 1·04 g, D i 1·03 g.

An analysis of the style of lettering, and of the shape of the dots used to form the inner border, may eventually establish the sequence in detail in the later part of the series (Groups D and E), where its interest for the monetary history of the Latin East is greatest. The dots are often diamond-shaped, in both groups. The only letter in the legends which offers much prospect as a criterion is the Є in VALЄNTIAI.

THE OTHER TYPES NAMED BY RAYMOND D'AGUILERS

The numismatic interest in recording and classifying specimens of the other five kinds of coin named by Raymond d'Aguilers arises out of the difficulty of dating them at all precisely. They too are of 'types immobilisés', which were struck to the same design for many decades.

POITOU

The *pictavini* were no doubt the plentiful issues with the mint name of Melle which were struck in various places (such as Poitiers and Niort; but probably no longer at Melle itself) during the eleventh century. They have turned up as site finds, and among the coins on a necklace from the early twelfth century, and in the 'Izmir' hoard. The specimens in the First Subak hoard, in very worn condition, weighed about 1·03 g. A recent hoard from the vicinity of Amasya, in Turkey, consisted largely of coins of Melle. There is no good evidence by which they could be dated or classified. The S in CARLVS is usually reversed (Ƨ).

CHARTRES

Anonymous pieces with a stylized profile occurred in the First Subak hoard, and made up most of the coins on an early-twelfth century necklace, and almost the whole of two hoards, one excavated at Jerusalem, and the other at Salamis.[6]

They vary in size and weight, some having perhaps been clipped. Their silver contents are close to 60 per cent, or, in one case, 52 per cent, and for this reason (among others) one should be reluctant to allow the late dates that have been proposed for the two hoards.

LE MANS

Coins with the monogram of *Erbertus* are dated by their occurrence in the First Subak hoard. Analysis gave results of 60, 70, and 75 per cent silver—the latter figures possibly too high because of surface enrichment.

[6] B. Mazar, 'The excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem' [in Hebrew], *Eretz-Israel, Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, 9 (W. F. Albright Volume) (1969), 161–74, and pl. 50, 38.

MELGUEIL

The only dated context so far recorded for a coin of Melgueil from the Latin East which places it firmly in the twelfth century is the Havardjian parcel of Antiochene deniers.[7]

LE PUY

A hoard of coins of Le Puy published as having come from the Holy Land[8] was subsequently said by the vendor to have been found in France. The type was, however, present in the Antioch hoard and among the other finds from Antioch. Whether these specimens were so debased that they would have been worth only half a denier is not known.

TYPES NOT NAMED BY RAYMOND D'AGUILERS

The evidence of twelfth-century hoards and of site finds shows that there were one or two other types, not mentioned by Raymond d'Aguilers, which accumulated in some quantities in the Holy Land. The most plentiful seems to have been the coinage of Lyon.

LYON

Coins reading *Lg prima sedes Galliarum* occurred in the Aleppo hoard[9] and in another northern hoard from the time of Saladin's conquests.[10] They probably date from after 1150: the mint seems to have been closed in the first half of the twelfth century.

GUINGAMP

A coin of Guingamp (in northern Brittany) occurred as a stray in the Havardjian parcel, again from the time of Saladin's conquests. There were more than a thousand specimens, of a range of stylistic variants, in the (later) Tripoli hoard;[11] and Schlumberger mentions the type, which he had evidently seen in parcels from Syria.[12]

[7] D. M. Metcalf, 'Three recent parcels of Helmet deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch concealed at about the time of Saladin's conquests', *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 137–45. (Melgueil is not represented in the collection.)

[8] Metcalf, in *HBN* 27/29 (1973/5), 67 f.

[9] Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence and Antioch', at p. 462.

[10] Id., 'Three recent parcels', at p. 139.

[11] D. H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard of French Seignorial and Crusader's Coins* (New York, 1933), p. 3.

[12] 'Parmi ces monnaies laissées par les croisés, on retrouve le plus souvent celles que le vieux chroniqueur Raymond d'Agiles énumère avec précision: ce sont les mêmes monnaies du Mans, de Chartres, du Poitou, de Dol, et de Gien, et le fait le plus intéressant que révèle l'abondance de ces pièces est moins sans doute l'affluence de croisés manceaux ou poitevins que la preuve du crédit dont les monnaies de ces ateliers jouissaient en Occident. Les deniers de Lucques, également cités par Raymond d'Agiles et qu'on retrouve fréquemment aussi en Orient, y ont été apportés par les nombreux guerriers italiens de la croisade. Outre les espèces citées, on en rencontre encore une foule d'autres en Orient: des monnaies féodales frappées par tous les barons de France, depuis la Flandre et l'Artois jusqu'à la Provence, jusqu'aux comtés de Toulouse et de Béarn. N'est-il pas curieux de découvrir aux rives du Jourdain, sous les décombres d'Édesse ou de Jérusalem . . . un humble denier, une vulgaire obole, frappés dans quelle obscure seigneurie des bords de la Loire ou des vallons de Bretagne, à Gien, à Guingamp, ou sur le flanc des Pyrénées, à Melgueil ou à Morlaas-de-Béarn? Quelle histoire émouvante, bizarre, presque toujours tragique, pourraient raconter ces petites pièces laides et mal frappées qui du beau et lointain pays de France sont venues terminer leur destinée sous le débris de quelque forteresse de terre sainte pour reparaître après huit siècles d'oubli et être vendues par les brocanteurs

4. ANTIOCHENE COPPERS, *c.*1100–30

Within as little as a year or two of the capture of Antioch, the Crusaders began to strike their own copper coins there, similar in fabric to the coppers of the Seljuks of Antioch.[1] The designs were changed from time to time in such a way that each new type could be easily recognized. There is a series of about ten successive types, each extensively overstruck on preceding types. The excavation-coins from Antioch have yielded eighty-two specimens. Each of Tancred's types occurs in roughly equal quantities, as does each of Roger's, encouraging one to think that there were regular recoinages, each type having an average duration of only two or three years. The sequence is clearly demonstrated by overstrikes from one type to the next. There is no evidence of any change in weight-standard during the series: all the types average 4 to 5 g. The numbers of each type from the excavations are shown in square brackets in the text below.

The absolute, as opposed to the relative, dating of the types raises the question whether Tancred and Roger were 'regents' for Bohemund II during the years 1104–19, as has generally been supposed. This seems to be a later legal fiction traceable to William of Tyre. Neither the coins nor the charters suggest that the two rulers regarded themselves as anything but sovereign.[2] (There is, for example, no possibility whatever that Tancred's four coin types could be compressed into the period after the death of Bohemund I.) Tancred and Roger, nevertheless, describe themselves on their coins merely as 'the servant of the Lord', and it is not until Roger's final type (introduced very probably after the decisive victory of Tell Danith, in September 1115) that he appears as ΡΟΤΣΕΡ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΟC, (i.e. *princeps*) on a coinage which had as its type the warrior St. George. The saint is shown on horseback piercing with his lance a Muslim or, more probably, a dragon (the detail is not clear on the available specimens). In either case the type no doubt recalls St. George's miraculous appearance at the Battle of Antioch in 1098.

THE SEQUENCE OF TYPES

Coins of Bohemund I, 1098–1104, are very scarce. They show a bust of St. Peter, Θ ΠЄTPOC, and a floriated cross, with B H M T in the angles [–]. A similar, anepigraphic coin (Schl., pl. 19, 1) may be an even earlier issue [–].

On an unpublished type the bust of St. Peter is laterally reversed, i.e. the cross is held to the left, and the blessing is given with the left hand. The reverse inscription in four lines is BO[HMV]/NDVS/SERVVS/XPI. The clumsy treatment and the title both suggest an attribution to Bohemund I rather than Bohemund II.

Tancred, 1104–12, continued the Petrine type, with a reverse inscription in four lines +/KEBOI/ΘHTOΔV/ΛOCOVT/ANKRI/+ (*O Lord, come to the aid of thy servant Tancred*) [9]. Coins of this issue on very small flans and from much smaller dies than usual may have been intended as halves.

On a much-discussed type,[3] Tancred appears to be wearing a turban surmounted by a jewel. (But

indigènes aux touristes de Londres ou de New York!' G. Schlumberger, *Les Principautés franques du Levant* (1877), pp. 3 f.

[1] Cf. G. C. Miles, 'The circulation of Islamic coinage of the 8th–12th centuries in Greece', *Congresso int. di Numismatica, Roma, 1961*, vol. 2, *Atti* (Rome, 1965), 485–98.

[2] I am indebted to Dr Edbury for this observation, which he hopes to discuss fully elsewhere.

[3] H. Longuet, 'La coiffure de Tancrède, prince d'Antioche, sur les monnaies', *Congrès int. de numis-*

well-struck specimens indicate that the turban is a figment of the imagination.) It is of greater iconographical significance that the prince carries a raised sword at his shoulder. The type is overstruck on the preceding type. Pesant has studied a large number of specimens, and has subdivided them into varieties with a pointed beard, a forked beard, and a beard shown in triangular outline, this last variety having an unusual pattern of irregular die-alignment [14].

A standing figure of St. Peter comes next, with the formula now in Latin instead of Greek, D S F T (obviously a translation of the Greek formula *Kyrie boethei*, etc.—perhaps *Domine salvum fac Tancredum*). Schlumberger notes that most specimens are overstruck on the 'turbaned' bust. Several of those in the Antioch finds are over the two preceding types [19].

Tancred's fourth type has a bust of Christ, with TA / NK / P / H in the arms of a floriated cross. It is overstruck[4] on the standing St. Peter type [12].

Roger, 1112–19, struck three types, the first with a Latin inscription, the others with Greek inscriptions. The first has a standing Christ, $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ ЄMMA [NOVHA], with reverse $\overline{DNE}$ $\overline{SAL}$ $\overline{FT}$ $\overline{RO}$ (possibly *Domine, salve famulum tuum Rogerium*). Some of these are overstruck on coins of Tancred with Greek inscriptions [9].

Roger's second type shows a standing figure of the Mother of God *orans*, with the five-line inscription ✝ / KЄBOH / ΘЄITWCW / ΔOVΛWP / OTЗЄPI / W✝. It is overstruck on the Latin type [7].

His third shows St. George on horseback slaying the dragon, with the rather barbarous and variable inscription ✝ / POTЗЄP / ΠPIΓKΠ / OCANT / IOK. This is one of the earliest representations of St. George and the Dragon on a coin.[5] It is mostly overstruck on the Mother of God type [6].

Bohemund II, 1126–30, returned to the Petrine type of the first Bohemund, with BA / IM / $\overbrace{OVN}$ / ΔOC in the angles of the cross (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 15). These scarce coins (which may possibly date from the regency of Baldwin, 1119–26) are overstruck on the coins of Roger, of all three types, or on Tancred's coins. There is, therefore, no question of attributing them to Bohemund I [6].

Other rare varieties exist, attributable apparently to Bohemund II, with *obverse* the bust of Christ (Schlumberger, pl. 2, 16), or of St. Peter with the Latin inscription $\overline{S}$ $\overline{P}$.

5. EDESSENE COPPERS *c.*1098–1118

The counts of Edessa began at a very early date to strike copper coins similar in their general appearance to the Byzantine folles of the later eleventh century.[1] The inscription BAΛΔOVINO KOMH leaves no doubt about their attribution. Strangely, no coins have been found which could be attributed to Joscelin I or II (1119–31, 1131–50).[2] For about twenty years, nevertheless, there was a continuous production of coinage, under a very evident degree of political control. Richard of the Principate, as regent, does not hesitate to put his name on the coins. There are two successive weight-standards, of roughly 8 g[3] and then 4 g, and since all the coins of Richard (1104–8) are heavy, and are succeeded by heavy coins of Baldwin II, the weight-reduction seems to have been made within a year or so of 1110. From the first decade of the county's existence, there are at least seven types, and quite possibly ten or a dozen. All except the first type are very frequently over-struck, and this allows

matique, Paris, 6–11 juillet 1953, vol. 2, *Actes* (1957), 341–3; S. Bendall, 'The mint of Trebizond under Alexius I and the Gabrades', *NC* 137 (1977), 126–36, asserting that the 'turbaned' type at Antioch is copied from a Trapezuntine type—and that another of Tancred's types is similarly borrowed; R. Pesant, 'The effigy on the coins of Tancred of Antioch', *NCirc.* 89 (1981), 234–5.

[4] In the Clerkenwell collection.

[5] J. Yvon, 'Les monnaies de Roger d'Antioche au type de S. Georges', *BSFN* 1966, 29 f.

[1] J. Porteous, 'The early coinage of the counts of Edessa', *NC*[7] 15 (1975), 169–82.

[2] Except possibly a rare type described in R. Pesant, 'Unknown type of Crusader bronze', *Jl. of Num. Fine Arts* 1 (1971–2), 112–13.

[3] A histogram derived from Porteous's corpus suggests a modal value of 8–8·5 g, but the coins vary widely in weight and are often much less than 8 g.

the sequence of the more plentiful types to be established. It looks as though the average duration of each type was about a year.

What seems to be the earliest of the smaller folles[4] follows the pattern of the large types. The rest show the standing figure of the count in conical helmet and chain armour, and usually with sword or shield. There are three main varieties (with small cross and sword; with long cross and shield; with sword and long cross), the first of which sometimes has the elaborate legend *Βαλδουίνος δοῦλος τοῦ Σταυροῦ*.[5] The sequence and character of the small coins is less clear. They are a good deal more plentiful than the large varieties, and the apparent cessation of minting before 1118 is thus all the more puzzling.

No Edessene coppers were found in the course of the Antioch excavations.

6. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: BEZANTS

The Latin Kings struck imitative dinars modelled on those of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir (AH 495–524/AD 1101–30) but normally distinguishable from their prototype by their lower weight, lower fineness, and faulty epigraphy.[1] Commercial documents refer to them, from 1161 onwards, as *bisancios saracenatos de moneta regis Hierusalem*; but as early as July 1142 there is a similar reference at Acre to *bizancios saracenatos . . . de rege illius terrae*.[2] From this it is evident that the minting of gold (as we should expect) was understood to be a prerogative of the ruler, and not a matter for private commercial initiative. The persistent idea outside numismatic circles that the bezants, like the dinars they imitated, were an international currency is a misapprehension. It finds virtually no support in the evidence of hoards from the east Mediterranean world. The bezants were intended primarily for circulation within the Latin Kingdom, although their use extended northwards in the Fertile Crescent, at least as far as Aleppo and Maraş.[3] The counts of Tripoli also minted bezants, easily distinguishable from those of the Latin Kings because their prototypes were dinars of a different caliph, al-Mustanṣir. There is no good evidence for bezants minted at Antioch.

As the legends on the Crusader bezants are essentially irrelevant to their interpretation, if not actually misleading, a classification[4] must fall back on the evidence that is available if one treats the coins simply as archaeological finds. The standard procedures of analysing an assemblage of hoards should in principle yield

[4] R. Pesant, 'Two new specimens of a follis of Count Baldwin II of Edessa', *NC* 142 (1982), 161–3.

[5] Schlumberger, pp. 10–25.

[1] The arguments summarized in this section follow A. A. Gordus and D. M. Metcalf, 'Neutron activation analysis of the gold coinages of the Crusader states', *Metallurgy in Numismatics* 1 (1980), 119–50, with some added reservations about the attributions to Acre or Tyre.

[2] J. Yvon, 'Besants sarracénats du roi de Jérusalem', *BSFN* (1961), 81–2; Gordus and Metcalf, loc. cit., 137 and n. 33; A. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziane nei secoli XI–XIII* (Regesta chartarum Italiae, vol. 28) (1940), no. 81.

[3] These hoards, which are omitted from the list below, are described in G. C. Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', *ANSMN* 13 (1967), 189–203.

[4] The standard catalogue of varieties is P. Balog and J. Yvon 'Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient latin', *RN*[6] 1 (1958), 133–68 (with 6 plates). Some additional coins are published (mistakenly as Fāṭimid) in W. A. Oddy, 'The gold contents of Fāṭimid coins reconsidered', *Metallurgy in Numismatics* 1 (1980), 99–118 (nos. 890–1, 896, 900, 904–5, 908–12, 914–15, 918–19).

perfectly reliable answers. There are at present not enough published hoards of which the integrity is certain, to draw the outlines of the series. Metal analyses, however, have revealed a pattern of progressive debasement which does much to clarify the sequence.

Almost all the surviving bezants of the Latin Kingdom are on one of two alloy-standards: they consist of approximately either four-fifths gold, and one-fifth alloy, or two-thirds gold, and one-third alloy. In each case the standard is accurately achieved, and there is no question of the Crusaders being unable to produce a better or a more consistent alloy—nor of fraud[5] in relation to the exceptionally pure gold of the Fāṭimid prototype. The date at which the alloy-standard was reduced is very difficult to prove, since hoards of bezants generally contain only gold, and lack the contemporary billon deniers which would have provided an independent means of dating. It has been conjectured that the most plausible occasion for the debasement is to be found close to the years 1187 and 1188, when Saladin's conquests shattered the Latin Kingdom. Of the numerous hoards of bezants of four-fifths gold, many are likely to have been concealed and not recovered because of those events.

The bezants of two-thirds gold (many of which are marked with a little symbol to show the users that they are of the debased variety) continued until 1250, when they attracted the censure of the papal legate Eudes of Châteauroux, who came to Acre with Louis IX. He found it scandalous that Christians should be striking coins bearing 'the name of Mahomet and the number of years from his nativity [*sic*]'; and the practice was banned by Innocent IV under the threat of excommunication.[6] The designs of the coins were promptly changed—although their weight and alloy remained the same. The cross was given a prominent place, and their legends, written in correct Arabic, now contained Christian proclamations of faith in the Holy Trinity, and dates 'from the incarnation of the Messiah', running from 1251 to 1258.

If these dates are to be believed, the devastation of Acre by the War of Saint-Sabas (1256–8) brought the minting of gold to an end. The numismatist will hesitate a little over this conclusion, plausible as it is, only because there is a high proportion of specimens on which the date is illegible or doubtful. And it is in principle possible that immobilized dates were used.

The four-fifths gold bezants were probably intended to be coins of 20 carats (theoretical weight, 3·74 g), of which 16 carats by weight were gold, while the two-thirds gold issues were coins of 18 carats (3·37 g), of which 12 carats by weight were gold. But medieval mint-prescriptions, when they have survived, quite often specify proportions or numbers that are not round figures, and which could not have been guessed.

From an historical point of view, special interest attaches to the earliest minting of bezants, in the first half of the twelfth century. There are a few specimens, of better

[5] Cf. the pioneering work, now superseded, A. S. Ehrenkreutz, 'Arabic dinars struck by the Crusaders, a case of ignorance or of economic subversion', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 7 (1964), 165–82.

[6] Papal letter in E. Berger, *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, vol. 3 (1897), no. 6336.

than four-fifths gold, copying another type of al-Āmir. Of two stylistic varieties, those on larger flans and with a wide empty border are a shade heavier and of better gold. The weight is lower than that of the dinars; and the alloy varies from as much as 97 per cent gold down to 83 per cent. The series thus shows a regrettable unreliability. The question which is at present unanswerable is whether it was minted in large or small quantities, and over how long a period. The reform which introduced the bezants of four-fifths gold would naturally enough have involved the recall and reminting of earlier issues. Virtually none survive in the hoards that are known to us, which are, however, probably from twenty or more years later. If a large hoard were to come to light, concealed during the currency of these earliest bezants, the number of different dies represented in it might give us some clue to the scale of the issue. It so happens that no early hoard has been recovered. There is thus inescapably a blank in our understanding of the Latin Kingdom's monetary affairs: the earliest bezants may be so scarce today because they were always scarce; or they may have been minted in quantities similar to the issue of four-fifths gold, only to be melted down at the time of the reform.

A document of 1165 speaks of *bisancios auri saracenatos novos* and *veteres*.[7] *Novi* is, however, a term which is used over a wide range of dates both before and after 1165, and its interpretation is difficult. The time of the Second Crusade seems to be the earliest possible date for the reform, and a date early in the reign of Amaury (1163–74) is about the latest that can be envisaged. Amaury introduced a new design of billon coinage, perhaps in 1167. He may have already turned his attention to the gold coinage two or three years previously. Or alternatively the standard phrase *bisancios saracenatos de moneta regis Hierusalem*, found from 1161 onwards, may be an echo of a reform carried out by Baldwin III late in his reign.

The good-gold bezants (97/83 per cent gold) may well be those referred to in 1142. They may have been introduced already by 1136, when an attempt was made in Damascus to promote the striking of dinars that were to be seven-eighths fine—possibly in an attempt to match Crusader bezants in existence already at that date.

There is, finally, the record of ibn Khallikān that when the city of Tyre eventually fell to the Franks in 1124 'they continued for three years to strike coins in the name of al-Āmir, at the end of which time they ceased to do so'.[8] These coins, presumably struck from captured dies, have not yet been recognized by numismatists—and would be difficult to identify if they were, as might be expected, of good gold.

The arguments summarized above give reason to classify the bezants of the Latin Kingdom into three phases, the dates of transition being *c.*1148 × *c.*1165 and *c.*1187. Next: where were the coins minted? We know that the bezants with Christian legends were struck at Acre; and there is a reference in 1156 to *sarracenicos de Sur* (i.e. of Tyre) which at that date suggests, although it does not conclusively establish, a mint at that place.[9] More interestingly, a Venetian document of 1243 enumerating

[7] Morozzo and Lombardo, op. cit., no. 167.

[8] Quoted by H. Lavoix, *Monnaies à légendes arabes frappées en Syrie par les Croisés* (1877), from the Cairo edition, vol. 2, p. 189.

[9] Ṣūrī dinars are frequently mentioned in thirteenth-century sources, and Irwin suggests (p. 91) that 'the revived use of the term from the late twelfth century onwards was a calque based on the French "besant de

the Republic's possessions in Syria complains of the loss of a house in Tyre where coin had been struck: '*Retinetur nobis una domus in nostro tercierio, magna, in qua in tempore Marchionis Montisferrati, qui fuit dominus Regni* [1190–2], *fabricata et incusa moneta fuit: quam domum dictus Marchio dedit et tradidit . . .*'[10] One should be unwilling to deduce from this (as nineteenth-century students did) that pseudo-Islamic bezants were struck by the Venetians as of right. They may have negotiated concessions, at Tyre and elsewhere, by which they were able to have their bullion coined at a reduced charge or without payment of seigneurage. The document does seem, nevertheless, to preserve reliably the memory of the existence of a mint at Tyre, which was either closed or transferred to another building or another place in 1190–2. Tyre is not mentioned alongside Acre and Tripoli in Innocent IV's letter banning imitative bezants.[11]

The bezants of four-fifths gold include perhaps three stylistic groups, and there is some evidence, although by no means enough, for thinking that they are from two if not three different mints. The evidence comes from the alloy of the coins, and from the relative occurrence of the varieties in hoards.

The most plentiful variety, catalogued by Balog and Yvon[12] as their nos. 25 and 27a–d, is no doubt from Acre. References are sufficiently common to '*bisantii ad rectum pondus Accon*' to indicate that the local weight standard there was predominant in the monetary affairs of the Latin Kingdom. When legible, the mint is normally stated on the coins as Miṣr (Egypt), and the date as 506.

The metal with which their gold is alloyed is a mixture of silver and copper, in a ratio varying from about 6:1 to about 3:1. The good-gold bezants (Balog and Yvon no. 26) show a similar ratio of about 6:1 or 5:1.

Coins of Balog and Yvon nos. 22–4, and certain other specimens analogous with their nos. 20–1, are alloyed with purer silver, and show ratios of about 10:1 or higher. Many of these, too, are signed Miṣr, 506, 508, 510, 515, or 516, but they include a variety of other mint-signatures, such as al-Iskandariya and Cairo. They tend to be heavier, which might suggest that their place is at the beginning of the sequence. But if they were placed between Balog and Yvon nos. 26 and 25/27, and interpreted as the earliest of the four-fifths gold bezants it would interrupt the continuity of the silver–copper ratio. Also their presence in the Latakia hoard (deposit *c.*1188?) in fresh condition is better explained by the hypothesis of two mints. Further, they are unusually plentiful in a hoard said to have been found in a small village near Tyre. Tentatively, therefore, one may attribute them to Tyre.

This raises difficult problems which cannot be resolved until much fuller and more certain numismatic information about the bezants is available. Tyre is, after all, the very place where we might expect continuity of minting, whereas at Acre we should expect, at the least, an interruption. It might be necessary to argue that the mint-personnel from Acre were transferred to another place, if one wished to attach importance to the high silver–copper ratio of the minor mint.

If one is prepared to identify that mint by its characteristic alloy, one must say that it seems not to have survived the reduction in alloy to two-thirds. Only one specimen has been assigned to that phase. It comes, again, from the Latakia hoard, and apparently contains 58 per cent gold, but weighs

Syrie"'—R. Irwin, 'The supply of money and the directions of trade in thirteenth-century Syria', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 73–104.

[10] The date is arguably 1190–2 rather than 1192, i.e. any time after the death of Sibylla and Conrad's marriage to Isabelle. Tafel and Thomas (*Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, vol. 13), p. 60.

[11] Gordus and Metcalf, loc. cit., p. 130 suggest that the reform may have been linked with the war tax levied at the time of Saladin's approach. The document about Tyre, which we overlooked, suggests a rather later date.

[12] See above, no. 4.

3·84 g—possibly an attempt to put 12 carats of gold into a 20-carat coin instead of an 18-carat coin. If the analysis and the interpretation are correct, they point towards a date of minting very soon after the reform. Unless the mint stood idle for want of bullion, the date of its eventual closure (*c.* 1190–2) would point to a similar date for the reform. But the number of specimens from this mint that have been analysed is still small, and our knowledge of its output may well be very incomplete.

The detailed classification of the four-fifths gold coins thus remains far from clear, and progress will have to await a die-study and (probably) further hoard evidence. In terms of style there are no hard-and-fast lines between the varieties as defined by Balog and Yvon, and it is sometimes a subjective decision to which variety a specimen should be assigned. The broad difference in style between the four-fifths and the two-thirds gold coins is easy to see. An important coin in the Maraş hoard (no. 2; Gordus and Metcalf no. 70) shows how the style had evolved by the end of the earlier phase. Apart from that one fragment of evidence the problem is still a crow's nest. Coins with more careful, compact, and literate epigraphy, and with varied mints and dates are probably early. Elongated letters *ḍād* and *ṣād* would seem to be late, and with dots added possibly later still. The use of annulets in the script seems to mark a progression towards the later phase.

The numismatic evidence, then, favours two second-phase (twelfth-century) mints, the larger one almost certainly at Acre, the smaller possibly at Tyre. In the first phase all the known coins would seem to belong to the Acre mint, but there may have been others which are simply not known at the present day.

The half-bezant of the third phase (Balog and Yvon no. 41) is probably a modern forgery.

The rare *Agnus Dei* bezant,[13] with its liturgical acclamation XPISTVS : VINCIT XPISTVS : REGNAT XPISTVS : IMPERAT (Fig. 2), is on the two-thirds gold standard

FIG. 2

of the Latin Kingdom.[14] In its design it seems to be influenced by the French gros tournois of 1266. It is so scarce today that one must suspect that few were ever struck—presumably because little gold was brought to the mint. Although the territory of the Latin Kingdom was already much reduced, and the fall of Acre was not far away, the city's commercial fortunes were not automatically dependent on its

[13] P. Grierson, 'A rare Crusader bezant with the *Christus vincit* legend', *ANSMN* 6 (1954), 169–78; Schlumberger, pl. 19, 9.

[14] For the alloy, see Gordus and Metcalf, loc. cit., p. 133. The mint-attribution will be influenced by this fact. Grierson favoured an attribution to Antioch, while Gordus and Metcalf, notwithstanding the alloy, were inclined to see the coin as Tripolitan, and as a parallel creation to the silver gros of Tripoli.

political circumstances, and one should probably look for a reason for the dearth of gold more in the context of bullion flows.

The bezants of Tripoli, and a possible baronial issue, are discussed in sections 9 and 14 below. There are a very few other varieties of bezant, such as Balog and Yvon 52, in the name of Saladin, which are extremely scarce and of which metal analyses are not available.

7. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: DENIERS AND OBOLES

Two extensive series of billon deniers were minted in the Latin Kingdom, the first in the name of Baldwin, with the Tower of David as their reverse type, and the second in the name of Amaury, depicting the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. Amaury's coins became a *type immobilisé*, continued by his successors until *c.*1219. Baldwin's name, similarly, may well have continued to appear on the coins in the early part of Amaury's reign. It is reasonable to assume, however, that when the type was first introduced a Baldwin was king, and this rules out the years of Fulk's reign, 1131–43. While one cannot altogether prove that the Baldwin coins did not originate under Baldwin II, the limited degree of stylistic variation in the series, even more the alloy, and such hoard-evidence as there is, point to Baldwin III (1143–63) and the 1140s or early 1150s for the date of the reform.[1]

There are two distinct styles among Baldwin's deniers, a 'rough' and a 'smooth',[2] and the question needs to be settled whether they are from a single mint and separated by time, or (as seems distinctly more likely) from two mints working concurrently. Although the coins read ∂Є IЄRVSΔLЄM, it seems very doubtful whether they were minted there. Rather, they give the royal title, and one may suppose that they were minted, like the gold bezants,[3] at Acre and (if there were two mints) also at Tyre.

The coins have been thoroughly studied and classified on the basis of a large hoard, as follows:

The 'rough' coinage

Lettering series 0, Lettering series 1, Lettering series 2: These include irregular versions of the stonework of the Tower of David; irregular legends ∂Є ЬIЄRVSΔLЄH, ∂Є ЬIЄRVSΔLЄH, ∂Є ЬIЄRVSΔLЄI, ∂Є ЬIЄRVSΔLЄI, and ⁝REX BΔL∂VINVS

1/0 mule (obole)[4]

1/2 mules and 2/1 mules.

Lettering series 3:
(*a*) Neat coins, with a small inner circle (8½–9 mm) on the obv.
(*b*) Coins with a rather larger circle and cross, not quite so clear
(*c*) Coins characterized by widely spaced dots in the inner border, and careless workmanship.

[1] But it should be mentioned that only one specimen of the earliest (∂Є ЬIЄRVSΔLЄH) varieties has been analysed. (It proved normal.)

[2] The classification which follows is a summary of that offered in D. M. Metcalf, 'Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the name of Baudouin', *NC*[7] 18 (1978), 71–84.

[3] This point was not considered in Metcalf, loc. cit.

[4] For the rare series 0, see *RN*[6] 8 (1966), 92–7, Metcalf, loc. cit., 74 and pl. 20, 1.

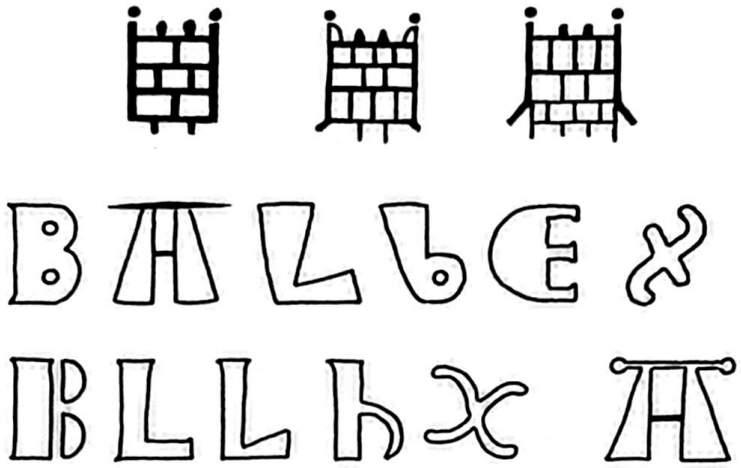


FIG. 3. Irregular stonework (*top row*); lettering series 1 (*middle row*), 2 (*bottom row, left*), and 3 (*bottom row: the letter* A)

The 'smooth' coinage

Group 1	Plain letter B, with compact, solid loops; uncial H with dotted ends; rather square castle.
Group 2	Similar, but the B is ornamented with a central tongue.
Group 3	Similar, but the uncial H is ornamented with annulets, and annulets are used elsewhere in the legends, and on the castle.
Group 4	Letter B with elongated loops (the central tongue is sometimes omitted); linear X with annulets; rather taller tower, often slightly tapering and with the suggestion of a glacis.
Group 5	Lettering of inferior quality, sometimes with exaggerated fish-tail serifs; vertical + (for X) ornamented with annulets; tower often has a pronounced taper, with overhanging annulets at the corners. The coins are often weakly or unevenly struck on somewhat irregularly-shaped flans.

The 'rough' and the 'smooth' coins are probably from different mints, and it is possible that Group 4 of the 'smooth' coinage is from a third mint. There is no

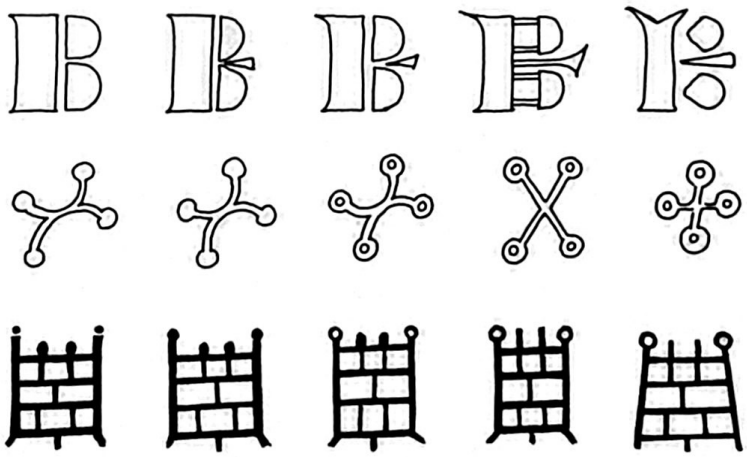


FIG. 4. The 'smooth' coinage, Groups 1–5.

significant variation in the weight or alloy, which are *c.*0·975 g and 25/30 per cent for both series.

A denier with blundered legends published by Miss Cox[5] remains unique, and it is not clear whether it is of an early variety, antedating the hoard, or (more probably) an imitation.

It has been estimated that Baldwin's coins were struck from rather more than a thousand pairs of dies.

The deniers of Amaury took as their design another of the architectural landmarks of Jerusalem, namely the distinctive dome of the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre). They were at first of virtually the same weight and exactly the same fineness as those of Baldwin that they replaced. It is perhaps unlikely that they were introduced before the changes made in the status and interior arrangement of the basilica in 1167.[6] They are present in the Samos hoard, concealed before *c.*1185. We do not know how soon after the recovery of Acre in 1191 the minting of deniers was resumed, but the type seems to have had a long history, for the hoards of the 1220s, in which the Amaury coins are on a half-gramme standard,[7] hint at a further, intermediate weight-standard of 0·7/0·8 g—the coins on that standard having been clipped to match the lighter issues.

The deniers in Amaury's name await thorough study and classification. There is no sign of a 'rough' style, and it may be that all or the great majority of the coins were struck at the same mint—or at least that the dies in question were cut in one place. There are formal differences to be seen between the coins (annulets or dots inserted in the obverse legend, and annulets or dots in the angles of the cross, as well as minor variations in the style of lettering). A proper numismatic analysis will no doubt eventually establish the status and chronological relationship of these 'varieties'.

The Jerusalem hoard of 1927, which represents a phase when Amaury's coinage had not yet declined in weight below *c.*0·9 g, or was only just beginning to do so, already includes a range of 'varieties', which may be summarized as follows:

R€X⁘	1	1	—	—	—
R€X⁚	10	2	—	—	—
R€X∘	20	—	—	1	—
R€X	6	—	—	1	—
R€X·	7	1	1	5	1
R.€X∘	1	—	—	—	—

The one clear specimen in the Samos hoard is of the scarce variety reading R€X⁘. It is presumably early. Oboles of careful workmanship reading R€X⁚ may be part of the

[5] D. H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard of French Seignorial and Crusader's Coins* (New York, 1933), pp. 56 f.

[6] The position summarized is that discussed in R. Pesant *et al.*, 'The *Amalricus* coins of the kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf), pp. 102–21.

[7] For a very clear histogram, based on evidence not used in the symposium paper (n. 6 above) see R. Pesant, 'A parcel of deniers of Amaury of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Coins*, 19 (priced stock list, Alex Malloy) (New York, 1982).

initial issue of the type. One cannot be certain whether coins marked RЄX⁘, RЄX⁚, RЄX·, and RЄX were not issued concurrently to launch the type. The standard version of the design is that which has annulets in the second and third quarters of the cross.

On the rare specimens with dots in the second and third quarters, or with annulets in the first and fourth quarters (cf. nos. 106, 115), some very unusual letter-forms are found, such as a triple-dotted S, and a triple-barred A. Coins like these are candidates for attribution to one or more minor mints; but there is a numismatic dictum that mints should not be multiplied unnecessarily, and the idea will need to be tested by the thorough stylistic analysis of a much larger body of material.

The half-gramme coins were carefully classified by Miss Cox on the basis of 652 specimens in the Tripoli hoard.[8] Her classification may to some extent conflate coins struck at *c.*0·5 g with others clipped to *c.*0·5 g. It shows a different numerical pattern of annulets etc.:

Class I (RЄX·)	> 465	—	—	—
Class II (RЄX·, RЄX·, or RЄX)	—	> 86	—	—
Class III (RЄX·)	—	—	> 47	—
Class IV (RЄX·, RЄX·, or RЄX)	—	—	—	> 52

Miss Cox makes the useful point that, although what appears to be a pellet may be a clogged annulet, the fact that Class III regularly has an annulet in the second and a pellet in the third quarter, and not vice versa, validates the variety. Classes I and IV, but not the others, occasionally have A M ligate.

The evidence of a large hoard from the very beginning of the thirteenth century would no doubt clarify our understanding of the sequence of Amaury's coins.

Billon oboles were struck in substantial quantities to accompany the deniers both of Baldwin and Amaury—including, apparently, thirteenth-century oboles weighing 0·25 g.[9]

The two main series of billon coinage, then, present a straightforward picture of continuity in the currency from the 1140s to the 1220s. Into that framework there have to be fitted several scarce or very scarce types which are problematic. The deniers of John of Brienne reading DĀMIĀTĀ, it will be argued below (section 8), may reflect an abortive reform initiated at the Acre mint and intended to sweep the ĀMĀLRICVS coinage away, but which came to a halt as Frederick's hold over the Latin Kingdom strengthened. Thus although scarce, they may have been planned as a substantive issue. The other types were probably all on a smaller scale. Those of Guy of Lusignan, 1186–92 and Henry of Champagne, 1192–7, are of copper. Although Saladin's conquests and the collapse of the kingdom presumably interrupted the inflow of bullion for a time, Acre recovered very quickly, and it is not clear that the issue of copper coins was dictated by expediency. Moreover, it is

[8] Cox, op. cit., pp. 49–52.

[9] Pesant, loc. cit. (n. 6 above), pp. 119 f.

curious that Guy and Henry were content to use coins in their own name and in that of Amaury concurrently. Were Guy's coins deniers? It seems improbable. Henry's, certainly, announce themselves clearly as PVGESDACCON. This has traditionally been read as *pougeoise d'Acre*, the pougeoise (f.) being a quarter of a denier. Pougeoises make their appearance in France only during the thirteenth century; and as Raymond d'Aguilers speaks of the coins of Le Puy (*pogesi*) being used by the Crusaders as oboles, it may be that Henry's coins (and those of Guy?) were pougeois (m.) or oboles.[10] There were no fewer than four of Guy and two of Henry in the Antioch finds, but none of Baldwin or Amaury. This strongly suggests that the coppers were tariffed as fractional coins (and perhaps also that deniers of Baldwin and Amaury reached Antioch, but were not lost). The coins of Guy have also turned up rather often in Cyprus[11] (where he was lord from 1192 to 1194), presumably as imports.

The last of the Latin kings whose name appears on coins struck for the mainland is John of Brienne. His large silver pieces (Fig. 5*a*) are a very early example of a gros

FIG. 5

or multiple denier, such as began to appear in northern Italy from the end of the twelfth century onwards.[12] The types are the same as on Amaury's coins, with the substitution of +IOHANNES REX. De Saulcy's specimen weighed 2·70 g, the Fürstenberg piece, 2·61 g, and a third, sold at auction, 2·52 g.[13] The alloy is variously reported as silver or billon and without analytical evidence it is impossible to guess how many deniers the coin equalled.

On a closely related and even rarer gros (Fig. 5*b*), weighing 2·10 g, the (obverse?) legend is + SEPVLCHRI · DOMINI and the reverse + DRAGMA · ACCON(*en*)SIS. This reveals that the coin had a denomination: it was a drachma.[14] Could it conceivably be as early in date as the reign of Henry of Champagne—a companion-piece to the PVGES DACCON? (There are two varieties of the *pougeois*, from very similar obverse dies. That with the Star of David as its reverse type, Fig. 6, is a rarity.)[15] It is in any case certain that western-style drachmas antedate the Crusaders' imitation dirhams

[10] C. J. Sabine, 'The billon and copper coinage of the Crusader county of Tripoli, *c.*1102–*c.*1268', *NC* 140 (1980), 71–112, at p. 72.

[11] Stewart mentions two (unpublished typescript), and there is a third catalogued below.

[12] P. Grierson, 'The origins of the grosso and of gold coinage in Italy', *Numismatický Sbornik* 12 (1971–2), 33–48.

[13] Schlumberger, pl. 3, 30; Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, auction 30, 5 November 1965, lots 795–6.

[14] Schlumberger, *Supplément*, pp. 4 f. and pl. 20, 3, and another specimen illustrated in the text, in *Supplément*, p. 22.

[15] A. Spaer, 'Two rare Crusader coins of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *NC*[7] 17 (1977), 184–6.

FIG. 6

and tend to be somewhat lighter. Were they intended as a new commercial coinage, or were they minted in small quantities only, for ceremonial purposes? We do not know; but the dies are different, and vary markedly in style of lettering. If they were planned as a substantive issue, then like the earliest English groats, of Edward I, they failed to find favour.

A scarce anonymous regal coinage with the legends MONETA REGIS and + REX IERL'M (no. 123) has been attributed to the Templars and Hospitallers as regents of the Kingdom during the siege of Acre in 1191. This is very improbable. The orders were not regents. They merely controlled royal rents, and that only for about two weeks. The attribution is probably just a flight of romantic fancy. Two hoards of the '*Moneta Regis*' coins have recently come to light, both tiny, and no less intriguing for that. They are from Kfar Naḥum (Capernaum) and Naḥal 'Amud (15 km NW of Tiberias). Each hoard, consisting of six and seven deniers respectively, was found as a corroded lump of coins stuck together; both consist exclusively of '*Moneta Regis*' coins, with no other types which might have given a clue to the dating; both are from Galilee.[16] The few known stray finds also show a northerly distribution.[17] The type is conspicuously absent among coins gathered in Jerusalem, and equally so in Beirut. All this suggests a coinage curiously isolated by circumstances from the general currency: perhaps payments direct from the issuing authority to individual soldiers? Die-estimation indicates that the numbers of obverse and reverse dies used for the issue were of the order of twenty-eight and sixty-four respectively.[18] There is no sign of the coins in the large hoards of the 1220s. Their weight-standard is 0·75/0·8 g and their alloy is a poor billon. This is sufficient to rule out a date before 1187. The coins may conform to those of Amaury's intermediate standard or, more probably, to the DAMIATA issues of John of Brienne, namely *c.*0·74 g and *c.*20 per cent silver. The insistence in the legends that the coins are royal has the appearance of a counter-claim, if so presumably against the baronial coinage; or it might suggest that the local authorities were uncertain who would succeed as king.

Chemical analyses of a group of specimens might narrow the choice; and, with all the clues that have been laid out above, a sizeable hoard containing '*Moneta Regis*' coins along with other types would probably sweep away the uncertainties which still surround the type. One should view the traditional dating to 1191 with every

[16] L. Y. Rahmani, 'Two hoards of "Moneta regis" coins found in northern Israel', *Israel Numismatic Journal* 4 (1980), 72–6.

[17] One found in the region of Acre: one from the seashore 23 km south of Haifa. To these, add one from the Caesarea excavations in 1972, published in R. L. Hohlfelder, 'Crusader coin finds from Caesarea Maritima, Israel: the Joint Expedition's excavations, 1971–1979', in *Coinage in the Latin East*, pp. 127–31.

[18] Based on a revised list of dies and die-links, referred to in *INJ* 5 (1982), 89.

reserve, and be prepared to consider a date in the 1220s or later. Politically the most likely date and place of minting for these anonymous coins is the period of the Commune of Acre, 1231–43.[19] This would also accord with where specimens have been found, and with their absence from hoards of the 1220s.

Another anonymous type, which makes no claim to be royal, has been interpreted as an emergency coinage struck during the siege of Jerusalem in 1187. On one side it shows the Tower of David, with the retrograde legend TVRRIS DAVIT, and on the other the sarcophagus and edicule of the tomb in the Holy Sepulchre church, with the legend [SEPVLChRVM] DOMINI (Fig. 7).

FIG. 7

The combination of types has led to the suggestion that the coins are those to which the Old French Continuator of William of Tyre clearly refers, and which were struck under the joint authority of Balian d'Ibelin and Heraclius: 'Then Balian and the patriarch went and had the tomb edicule of the Sepulchre which was all covered in silver uncovered; and then they had it taken away to be struck into money to give to the knights and sergeants.'[20] These rare coins have an average weight of *c.*1·0 g, and one that has been analysed gave a surface reading of nearly 60 per cent silver, together with enough zinc to suggest that some scrap brass entered into the alloy.

There are two other anonymous types, which have attracted much fragmented and speculative comment. The cruder of the two bears a more than passing resemblance to Byzantine ceremonial silver coins of the sixth and seventh centuries, with their type of the Cross flanked by two palm-branches.[21] On the Crusader coin the cross is of the so-called patriarchal type. This cross, on a box-like base, recurs on the seals and coins of the masters of the Order of St. John. It is doubtless intended to represent the monument of Golgotha. The upper bar on the cross will be the historic notice, 'Jesus, from Nazareth, king of the Jews'. The legend on the reverse of the coin, which again is retrograde, appears to be +:CRVCIS: (no. 124). The striking is normally weak and defective. This, and the poor technical quality of the flans, point to lack of skill on the part of the workmen. Schlumberger insisted that the deniers are of good silver, but his judgement on that point is not to be relied upon. Modern analysis of three specimens showed them to be uniformly of poor billon, containing only about

[19] For the Commune of Acre, see J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 175–209.

[20] *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, vol. 2, p. 70, lines 19–21 (not in Morgan's edition); C. J. Sabine, 'Numismatic iconography of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre. An emergency coinage struck during the siege of Jerusalem, 1187', *NC*[7] 19 (1979), 122–32.

[21] P. Grierson, 'Ceremonial coins', in *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1968), 19 f.

15–20 per cent silver.[22] An intriguing aspect of the Golgotha type is that the denier was accompanied by an obole.[23]

There is also an obole to match the denier (Fig. 8) on which Schlumberger thought he could see two angels flanking the Holy Sepulchre, and attributed to Conrad of Montferrat.[24] The curious design more probably again represents the edicule of the tomb, flanked here by the elaborate corner posts of a sanctuary or enclosure.[25] The reading CVNRĀD REX is as illusory as the angels: a better specimen reads SANACRCA. This has been construed as *Sancta Aerea*, although it is not clear that

FIG. 8

the 'area' (of the Temple) makes a plausible reverse legend. Could it be meant for *Sancta Crux* or *Sanctae Crucis*? The anecdote about the patriarch Heraclius tempts one to speculate whether these could be patriarchal coinages. But until some hoard-contexts come to light, and until we have a fuller numismatic understanding of the issues, it is best to reserve judgement.[26] The high weights,[27] retrograde legend, and poor technology point to a temporary or emergency mint and to the twelfth century. If it was Jerusalem,[28] these coins offer a reason for supposing that that city was not a mint for the regular coinages of Baldwin and Amaury.

8. EGYPT: 1219–21

After a long siege the port of Damietta, in the Nile delta, fell to the Crusaders in November 1219 and was given to John of Brienne temporarily until the issue

[22] I am indebted to Messrs. A. H. Baldwin, who allowed me to borrow two specimens from their trays, and to Mr Mark Pollard, of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford, who kindly undertook a surface analysis of them and of the specimen in the collection by X-ray fluorescence analysis using the 'Isoprobe'.

[23] A. Spaer, 'Two Crusader oboles', *NC* 142 (1982), 160 f.

[24] Schlumberger, p. 494 f. and pl. 19, 4. Another specimen, bought in Jerusalem, was published in N. du Quesne Bird, 'The coinage of Conrad the First of Jerusalem', *NCirc.* 73 (1965), 207–8. It weighs 0·65 g. Two more, in a museum in Jerusalem, are published in A. J. Seltman, 'Coins of the Crusades', *NCirc.* 74 (1966), 32 f. (1·05 and 0·97 g). They are allegedly of copper. Three more specimens are itemized in A. Spaer, 'Two rare Crusader coins of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *NC*[7] 17 (1977), 184–6. The obole is published in id., 'Two Crusader oboles', *NC* 142 (1982), 160 f.

[25] I am indebted to Canon John Wilkinson for his comments on the edicule. The coin design is, obviously, of considerable architectural interest as evidence for the appearance of the edicule—but at what date?

[26] On the patriarchal lordship within the city of Jerusalem, see J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 296–314. Note that after 1262 the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Bishopric of Acre were united. The cathedral of Acre was dedicated to the Holy Cross.

[27] Five specimens are discussed in A. J. Seltman, 'Coins of the Crusades', *NCirc.* 74 (1966), 32 f. They weighed 1·05, 1·03, 1·00, 0·93, and 0·69 g, the last worn.

[28] Notwithstanding the point well made in N. du Quesne Bird, 'Deniers of the Crusades', *NCirc.* 74 (1966), 152 f., that the drachma showing the church of the Holy Sepulchre was minted at Acre.

whether it should belong to the Kingdom was resolved. He held it only until late 1221, when he surrendered it to the sultan after suffering a crushing defeat.

There are deniers, rare today, which show the facing head of the king, with the legend +IOhAANNES REX, and on the reverse, DAMIETA.[1] The suggestion that this signifies 'John, king of Damietta' is numismatic as well as constitutional nonsense.[2] The coins do not read DE DAMIETA or DAMIETE. *Damieta* indicates merely the town where they were minted or, by extension, the name of the coin (remember that not all deniers reading TVRONVS CIVI were minted at Tours). It is equally a nonsense that the facing head (as has also been suggested) is intended to represent the mitred Pelagius.[3] It is the king. On his head is perhaps a helmet with a cloth hanging from it—or just possibly a *kufiya*. It is highly improbable that the issue of these coins began during the siege and before the fall of Damietta, or that it continued after the town was surrendered to the sultan. They will belong, therefore, to the years 1219–21. The decision to strike them was no doubt prompted by the knowledge that there had been very large numbers of western merchants in Egypt in the 1210s, and by the hope that the trading position could be restored and consolidated.

There are other deniers, at least ten times as plentiful today, on which the legends are reversed. IOhES REX is placed on the reverse, and DAMIATA is around the crowned bust of the king.[4] Reversed legends in the early thirteenth century were a recognized way of indicating a regency (as, for example, on the early coins of Hugh I or Henry I of Cyprus). John had been crowned king, and his kingship, in the abstract, could not lapse. At this time he was in practice regent of the Latin Kingdom for his daughter Isabella, and his holding Damietta gave some substance to his royalty. In the case of the DAMIATA issue, the reversal of the legends might be expected to signify some sort of claim: it is extremely difficult to imagine (unless one assumes that the reversal was meaningless) that these coins could have been minted at Damietta in 1219–21, since one cannot envisage any constitutional development regarding the abrogation of his claim or the surrender of the regalian right of coinage to which John could have consented.

Numismatically there is no continuity or link between the two varieties of coinage: the legends are different, the letter forms are different, the style of the bust is very different; and we do not even know that the weight-standard was the same. One is forced to consider the possibility, therefore, that the coins with reversed legends were struck elsewhere.

'Ces pièces', wrote Schlumberger, 'sont et resteront d'une rareté excessive';[5] and in the prediction he was decidedly mistaken. The Tripoli hoard brought 194 specimens to light, along with twelve of the real (DAMIETA) coins. Soon afterwards the Kessab hoard yielded another seventy-five, plus seven with DAMIETA. There were more in the 'Châtellerault' and Djebail hoards. Quantities in hoards can, of

[1] Schlumberger, pl. 20, 4 and Supplément, p. 6.

[2] It originates apparently with Böhm, who cites Schlumberger incorrectly, and is repeated, for example, in J. P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 66, n. 147 and in H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford, 1972), p. 215.

[3] Schlumberger, loc. cit., mentions a mitre, but the false conclusion is drawn by Longuet in his study of the Kessab hoard (*RN*[4] 38 (1935), 163–83, at pp. 173 f.).

[4] Schlumberger, pl. 3, 31.

[5] Ibid., p. 93.

course, give a quite misleading impression of the quantities originally struck. Miss Cox noted that the twelve specimens in the Tripoli hoard were from eight different dies;[6] but a die-study of the DAMIATA issue remains to be undertaken.

Much more to the point are the proportions among stray finds. Among those published from Acre, there are 3 DAMIATA coins against 10 of the AMALRICVS type;[7] from Caesarea, 3 against 15.[8] John's coins occur with great regularity among material gathered in Beirut (nearly always with reversed legends).[9] It is safe to assert that they were minted in large quantities.

But where? Miss Cox's theory was that the Tripoli hoard was the property of 'a French Crusader traveling north immediately after the fall of Damietta in 1221 and stopping in Cyprus to cash his letter-of-credit for expenses on the way'.[10] This inventive interpretation has been damaged by subsequent discoveries from Kessab and Djebail. It would be special pleading to disregard the northerly provenance of these three hoards, and the high proportion of DAMIATA coins in them (Tripoli, 194 against 652 of AMALRICVS; Kessab, 75 against 263; Djebail 6 against 7).[11] And such figures would, in themselves, be an obstacle to an attribution to Damietta.

The most plausible attribution of the DAMIATA coins is to the period when John's position was being challenged by Frederick. The agreement of 1222 recognized that John should keep the title of king for his lifetime. Could the coins have been struck from 1221 or 1222 at Acre, which John had left in the governorship of Eudes of Montbéliard?[12]

This hypothesis perhaps implies that the hope of recovering Damietta had not been abandoned. If the DAMIATA issue is from Acre, it may represent a reform of the billon currency to replace the decayed AMALRICVS coinage, abandoned as Frederick's hold strengthened. A hoard from *c.*1240 might make matters clearer.

There is a rare Italian coin of Frederick of almost identical design to those of John, and on which he claims (quite properly) the title REX IERL'M. It is intriguing that a specimen should have been found in the Caesarea excavations.[13]

[6] Four pairs and four singletons. D. H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard* (New York, 1933), p. 53. If among seven specimens from Kessab Longuet found only two dies, the statistical implication is that there was pronounced clustering.

[7] L. Y. Rahmani and A. Spaer, 'Stray finds of mediaeval coins from Acre', *INJ* 3 (1965-6), 67-73; D. M. Metcalf, 'A hundred stray finds from Akko (Saint-Jean d'Acre)', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 141-52.

[8] The coins are listed in a volume in preparation, edited by R. L. Hohlfelder.

[9] Information from Dr P. Z. Bedoukian.

[10] Cox, op. cit. (n. 6 above), p. 55.

[11] J. Duplessy and D. M. Metcalf, 'Le trésor de Samos', *RBN* 108 (1962), 173-207, at pp. 204-7.

[12] One may perhaps mention at this point the exceedingly rare imitation of a denier of Mantes, found at Acre. It has now been matched by a second, very similar specimen, from different dies, found at Caesarea. The only other specimen known is a piedfort published by Caron. John was with the French king, Philip Augustus, when he died at Mantes in 1223; and Philip bequeathed to John 50,000 marks for the benefit of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with similar legacies to the Hospital and the Temple. But whether the coins can be as late in date as 1223 is problematic; and Frederick's soldiers are reported to have confiscated John's bequest. Metcalf, loc. cit. (n. 7), no. 65; Hohlfelder, op. cit. (n. 8); Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 174, 176.

[13] R. L. Hohlfelder, 'Crusader coin finds from Caesarea Maritima, Israel: the Joint Expedition's excavations, 1971-1979', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 127-31, no. 4 (illus.). This coin, minted perhaps at Brindisi, must be one of the very first Sicilian issues to bear the title of Jerusalem, which was regularly employed thereafter.

9. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: BARONIAL COINAGES

Two lordships in the north of the Latin Kingdom, namely Beirut and Sidon, struck their own coins from time to time in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The count of Jaffa may have done the same in the second quarter of the thirteenth century; and a fourth lordship, Tyre—again northerly—was added to the list by 1270. These baronial coinages[1] amounted to only a trifling proportion of the available currency. Even in the cities where they were minted, it is unlikely that they had more than a minor role. The coins are, however, full of constitutional and political interest, for the right of coinage had in the twelfth century been a royal prerogative—as we may conclude from the *assise* of Baldwin II or III, and from the hoard evidence such as it is.

The careful control of the kingdom's gold coinage was, obviously, of first importance. There is only one variety of Crusader bezant, rare today, which has been tentatively identified as a baronial issue. It imitates the Yemeni dinars of Ali. This choice of prototype has prompted the suggestion that the bezants were issued by Raynald of Châtillon, lord of Montréal and Saint-Abraham, 1177–87, at Karak de Moab. Raynald's personal history and character might explain his flouting the regalian rights of the young leper-king Baldwin IV; and his strategic ambitions in the Red Sea area would accord with the use of a Yemeni prototype. As the coins are anonymous, their attribution must remain conjectural.[2]

All the other types of baronial coinage that have been identified are of copper or billon, and most are clearly signed. But their exact dating is often difficult. The anonymous TVRRIS DAVIT coppers may be the earliest non-royal pieces. They combine a Jerusalem type with the eight-pointed star of Tripoli, and it seems very probable that they were issued at Beirut by Raymond of Tripoli during his custody of the lordship of Beirut in 1184–6, while regent for Baldwin IV and Baldwin V.[3] The coins, which are of exceptionally neat manufacture (as are Raymond's Tripolitan 'Star' deniers), are stylistically a compact group, struck from only about thirty pairs of dies—sufficient to produce perhaps a third of a million coins.

The scarce copper or base billon coins of Sidon may also antedate the defeat at Hattin in 1187. Raynald of Sidon, whose name they bear (RЄNÆLDVS/SЎDONIÆ) held the lordship from *c.*1170 to *c.*1204, but the city of Sidon was not in his hands after 1187. The obverse type closely matches the contemporary 'castle' coppers of

[1] Schlumberger's expectation that a greater variety of baronial coinage would eventually come to light was based on a serious misunderstanding of the documentary evidence: see F. Chandon de Briailles, 'Le droit de "coins" dans le royaume de Jérusalem', *Syria* 23 (1942–3), 244–57. The account given here follows P. W. Edbury, 'The baronial coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 59–72.

[2] The attribution of the Yemeni bezants is proposed in A. A. Gordus and D. M. Metcalf, 'Neutron activation analysis of the gold coinages of the Crusader states', *Metallurgy in Numismatics* 1 (1980), 119–50, at p. 136. For a revised view of Raynald, see B. Hamilton, in *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, ed. D. Baker (1978).

[3] C. Sabine, 'The *Turris Davit* coinage and the regency of Raymond III of Tripoli (1184–6)', *NC*[7] 18 (1978), 85–92; id., 'The Crusader "Turris Davit" coinage: addendum', ibid. 141 (1981), 156–8.

Tripoli, while the reverse has the punning device of an arrow (med. Fr. *saiette*), the name of the town. There are two minor varieties in the style of the castle. The squarer version may be the earlier, as it is associated with a somewhat unusual form of the letter D. Coins with a taller castle may read SYDONIA or SYDONIЄ.[4] The total number of dies was probably very restricted.[5]

On a derivative series of very crudely produced coins, the arrow stands on its head and has been reinterpreted as a plant. The obverse type is now either the Holy Sepulchre, with its oculus, or a chrismon. From the time of a truce agreed in 1192 until the late 1220s the revenues from Sidon were, it seems, shared by the Muslims and the Christians in a form of condominium, and Sidon itself was in Muslim hands. The derivative coins may well date from the condominium, and may be of Arab workmanship. If this attribution is correct, it confirms the early date proposed for Raynald's coins.

From Beirut there are very scarce deniers, again with a 'castle' type on the reverse, in the name of John I of Ibelin (1200 × 1205 to 1236), and also copper coins of a distinctive fretted design, some of which also name John, while others are anonymous. Were these, then, two different denominations, as at Tripoli, easily told apart by their types? Our answer will depend, in practice, on the dates assigned to the coppers. The deniers (of which varieties 1 and 2 are firmly attributable to John I by their occurrence in the Tripoli and Kessab hoards) are as follows:

1. *Obv.* +IOhSDEIBELINO. Cross, crescents in second and third quarters, *or* crescents in first and fourth and annulets in second and third quarters.

   Rev. +CIVITAS BERETI or BERITI. Gateway with two turrets and wide arch. Sometimes with triple stops on obv. and/or rev.

2. *Obv.* +IOhANNЄS. Cross, crescents in second and third quarters *or* first and fourth quarters.

   Rev. +DEBЄRITI. 'Castle' type. Sometimes with triple stop.

3. *Obv.* +IOhSDVBЄLINO. Cross, annulets in first and fourth quarters.

   Rev. +DNSBЄRITЄNS. 'Castle' type. Annulet below.[6]

Type no. 1 shows various features which suggest that it is the earliest: a larger flan, more complicated legends, and sometimes the reading BERETI. Types 2 and 3 introduce a closed Є, generally a later form than Є.

There is evidence from the 1220s that John sought to develop Beirut's commercial potential by issuing privileges to encourage western merchants to come there to trade.[7]

The coppers of Beirut (Fig. 9) exist in three varieties, of which the third is the most plentiful. The gateway is different from that on the deniers and, in the asymmetrical

[4] Three specimens of this variety, and one with the squarer castle, are illustrated in D. M. Metcalf and P. J. Willis, 'Crusader coins in the Museum of the Order of St. John, Clerkenwell', *NC*[7] 19 (1979), 133–8, pl. 19.

[5] Note an obverse die-link between Metcalf and Willis, loc. cit., no. 24, and a coin in the Ashmolean.

[6] J. Yvon, 'Monnaies et sceaux de l'Orient latin', *RN*[6] 8 (1966), 89–107, at p. 97.

[7] Edbury (n. 1 above p. 63) citing J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (1973), pp. 66, 76–8.

form in which it is seen on the first variety, may depict a particular, real gate. The legends are:

1. ✠DEBERITENSIS
2. ✠DEBARVTh
3. ✠DEBERITOIOhE

Because copper coins were not normally hoarded there is no independent evidence for the relative dates of the copper and the billon. The first two types, which are anonymous, are therefore very difficult to place in relation to the deniers of

FIG. 9

Beirut. As at least three examples of the coppers are overstruck on the *Turris Davit* issue (which has been dated to 1184–6), the numismatist will be inclined to consider an earlier rather than a later date for them. The period *c.*1197—*c.*1220 would seem plausible. The style of the lettering, with open Es, also favours a relatively early date.

That would put them in the same historical context as the copper coins of Guy of Lusignan and Henry of Champagne. Was there an overlap with the deniers, to which the copper coins served as oboles; or do the deniers represent a reformed coinage? They were a distinct improvement, certainly, on the 0·5 g *Amalricus* coins, even if their intrinsic value was not very different. It is not clear whether the Beirut issues were intended to be on the Cypriot standard, or to be equivalent in value to the new-style 'Star' deniers of Tripoli. No analyses are available.

From the 1230s there is an anonymous coinage for Sidon, with the French legends DENIER/DE SEETE. Schlumberger conjectured that the building shown on the reverse is the cathedral of Sidon, which was a converted mosque. Sidon returned to undisputed Christian control in 1227, and these neatly produced coins were no doubt issued on the authority of Balian of Sidon, who for much of the time from 1228 until his death in 1240 acted as regent in Acre.

An exceedingly rare coin of Jaffa (Fig. 10), which one would guess from its style to be of a similar date, echoes the design and legends (✠DENARIVS/✠IOPPENSIS) of the Sidon coinage. Jaffa was refortified in 1228–9, and presumably given a new lease of life. The coins might be from the time of Walter of Brienne (*c.*1235/6–1244).

The copper coins of the lords of Tyre are all a good deal later in date—probably from the years around 1270. They are struck in the names of Philip of Montfort,

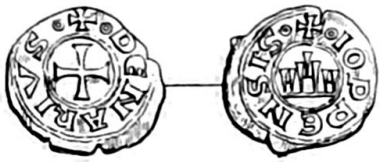


FIG. 10

1246–70 (✠PhЄLIPЄ / ✠DЄ SVR) and his son John, lord of Tyre and Toron, 1270–83 (✠IOh SIRЄ / ✠DЄSVR). Philip's hold over Tyre was regularized in 1269 when Hugh III of Cyprus as king of Jerusalem confirmed his possession of the lordship. The coins may mark that change of status—or they may first have been struck at a somewhat earlier date, for Philip had been at odds with the authorities in Acre since the War of St. Sabas.

10. IMITATIVE DIRHAMS AND HALF-DIRHAMS

The scarce dirhams ('drachmas') and their halves with Christian formulas of faith and AD dates all written in Arabic were minted at Acre in 1251, as the coins themselves state. The more plentiful 'deceptive' imitations of Ayyūbid coinage can, like the bezants,[1] be attributed to particular Crusader mints and dated only with a degree of uncertainty. The letter of Innocent IV seems to imply that the dirhams, like the bezants, had before 1251 been minted both at Acre and at Tripoli, but this may be merely a loose grammatical construction referring in fact only to the bezants, or a legalistic phrase designed to cover all contingencies: '. . . *bisanciis* et drachmis *quae in Acconensi et Tripolitana civitatibus fiebant a christianis.*'[2] Wherever the dirhams were minted they represent flows of considerable amounts of bullion, mostly from *c.*1243–4 onwards, and into the 1250s, but beginning apparently in *c.*1217, if not even earlier. The Mongol invasions of 1259–61 seem to have brought the issue of the imitative series to an end, and it is only surprising that the shock-waves which ran ahead of the Mongol advance did not disrupt commerce in the hinterland sooner.[3]

The available evidence is regrettably limited,[4] but it is fairly clear that the dirhams were a trade coinage intended to be acceptable in Syria (where various hoards have been found, and where the prototypes were minted) and apparently also in Egypt (where there is a large hoard from the Fayūm). As such their interest to the monetary historian is that they reflect flows of bullion from the Latin states towards their Islamic neighbours. (This does not amount to proof of a *net* flow of bullion in an 'easterly' direction.) Each dirham contained as much pure silver as fifteen or twenty thirteenth-century deniers. And in a hoard published by Leuthold,[5] for example,

[1] See above, section 6.

[2] H. Lavoix, *Monnaies à légendes arabes frappées en Syrie par les Croisés* (1877), pp. 52 f.

[3] R. Irwin, 'The supply of money and the direction of trade in thirteenth-century Syria', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 73–104.

[4] To the list given by Bates (below, n. 8), one may add the Irbid, Jordan hoard, with 10 'Crusader coins of Acre' among a total of 306 otherwise Islamic coins of the thirteenth century AD—*CH* I (1975), no. 303.

[5] E. Leuthold, 'Monete con leggende in arabo—islamiche e dei Crociati—in un ripostiglio del XIII secolo', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* (1971), 175–84. Cf. *Coin Hoards* I (1975), no. 295.

there were 52 Latin dirhams among a total of 114, deposited *c.* 1260–70. The regional transfers of bullion may thus have been significantly large, and the question of their point of origin deserves careful consideration. Balog thought that the imitations were minted at Venice, or some other Western port, because of their high epigraphical quality and their continued use of the name of the caliph al-Mustanṣir years after his death. For Balog, the coins were 'confectionnées dans des ateliers européens des rives de la Méditerranée, avec le concours de prisonniers de guerre syriens qui savaient bien écrire l'arabe . . . on ne pourrait pas les distinguer des originaux damascains . . . si ces artisans, coupés des nouvelles du monde musulman, n'avaient ignoré le changement de khalife et la perte de Damas par Saleh Ismail'.[6] Similar reasoning with regard to the bezants would be fallacious, and the same is very probably the case here too; but one cannot easily find arguments to dismiss Balog's theory out of hand.

The imitations are often such careful copies that they have deceived modern numismatists, who have occasionally published them as genuine Ayyūbid coins. The deception will eventually yield to techniques of study such as metrology (mean weights, and dispersion around the mean), die-linkage, metal analysis, and above all the thorough study of hoards. Anomalies such as posthumous dates for the caliph or the local ruler named on the coins, and the existence side by side of two distinct series ostensibly struck year by year at a single mint create a *prima facie* case for Crusader imitation, but the reattribution has not always won acceptance from Islamic numismatists[7] (who showed similar reluctance over the bezants).

With that caveat, the series that have been identified as certainly or probably Crusader may be summarized as follows:[8]

A. Imitative dirhams and half-dirhams with a hexagram design, copying those of the Ayyūbids of Ḥalab (Aleppo): al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (AH 582–613/AD 1186–1216), with posthumous dates for every year from 614 to 630 and, after an interruption, a final issue dated 638 (AD 1240/1). (The Aleppo mint, meanwhile, had been striking similar coins for al-Ẓāhir's successors al-'Azīz Muḥammad and al-Nāṣir Yūsuf.)

The copies begin, as if by design, in the year following al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī's death (in the same way as the coins naming al-Mustanṣir posthumously begin to be dated with the year following his death). But Bates makes the point that the Crusaders might have begun their issues before that, striking coins on which the dates are plausible—and which are therefore very difficult to recognize as imitations. The fact that the full sequence of dates from 614 to 630 has been noted may suggest that these dates are correct, but one would like to know their relative frequency. In order to prove that the whole series is not substantially later in date, a thorough stylistic and die analysis of a corpus of specimens is needed as a basis for judgement.

[6] P. Balog, 'La trouvaille du Fayoum: dirhems Ayoubites, du premier roi mamelouk Aybek et d'imitation arabe des Croisés', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 34 (1951–2), 17–55. A parcel from this very large hoard, *terminus post quem* AH 655 (AD 1257) contained 50 Crusader among 346 coins.

[7] Bates's essay (below, n. 8) prompted the rejoinder, M. A. al-'Ush, 'The Ayyūbid dirhams of aẓ-Ẓāhir Ghāzī and al-'Ādil Abū Bakr bearing dates after their death' (unpublished paper delivered at a colloquium at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 13 April 1976).

[8] The account given here follows M. L. Bates, 'Thirteenth century Crusader imitations of Ayyūbid silver coinage: a preliminary survey', in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History. Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (ed. D. K. Kouymjian (Beirut, 1974), pp. 393–409. Additionally I am grateful to Mr Stephen Album, who explained the problems to me.

B. Dirhams ostensibly struck at Dunaysir (about 300 km. east of Aleppo; south-west of Mardin) in the name of al-Mansur Artuk-Arslan, dated AH 627–32 (AD 1229–34). The attribution of these coins to the Crusaders is uncertain, but they exhibit the same sort of orthographic peculiarities as are found in series A, with rather debased calligraphy.

C. Imitative dirhams and half-dirhams of the Ayyūbids, of Dimishq (Damascus) and in the name of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl (AH 635, 637–43/AD 1237/8, 1239/40–1245/6), dated 641 or later, but with the name of the caliph al-Mustanṣir, who died AH 640. This series has been studied in detail by Bates on the basis of a large hoard from Syria, and classified as follows:

(*a*) Dirhams, Type I/half dirhams, Type I. These are dated 641 (1243/4), and 644 (1246/7). Die-links suggest that 641 was an immobilized date.

(*b*) Dirhams, Type II (omitting 'bismillāh'), and dated 643 (1245/6).

(*c*) Dirhams, Type III/half dirhams, Type II, again dated 643, and with a small cross in the marginal inscription, and the substitution of 'Mikhā'il' for 'Muḥammad'.

(*d*) Dirhams, Type IV. A rare variant with obverse reading "Imād al-Dīn', and dated apparently 644 (1246/7).

(*e*) Dirhams and half-dirhams with Christian legends struck at Acre in 1251 in response to the ban imposed by Eudes of Châteauroux. At the centre of the obverse is a prominent cross in a circle. The coins (Balog and Yvon[9] 42–3, 44) read, in Arabic:

Obv. One God alone, one faith alone, one baptism alone. Struck at Acre in the year 1251 [from the incarnation of the Messiah].

Rev. The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Godhead alone. Glory to God, from ages to ages. Amen, Amen, Amen.

On another variety the cross on the obverse is not enclosed in a circle (BY 45, 46, with numerous different field-marks such as crescents, fleurs de lis, Ѡ, etc.).

A third variety lacks the cross altogether (BY 47, 48, again with field-marks).

(*f*) Dirhams, Type V/half dirhams, Type III. The papal letter which arrived in Syria in 1253 forbade the mention of Mohammed and the use of dates from his nativity [*sic*]. The Crusaders found a loophole in this directive, and resumed the striking of dirhams in the names of al-Ṣālih Ismā'īl and al-Mustanṣir, with the less divisive formula, to which the adherents of both religions could assent, 'bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim'—'in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'. The date is AD 1253.

(*g*) Dirhams, Type VI/half dirhams, Type IV. Similar but with the date AH 641 (1243/4), which is presumably fictitious, the coins being contemporary with the others with the compromise formula.

D. Dirhams in the name of al-Nāsir Yūsuf II, ostensibly of the Damascus mint, and dated either AH 648–56 or AD 1248–56. These coins, too, employ the formula 'bismillāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥim', and may be Latin.

Two main series of 'deceptive' dirhams, then, have been identified, besides those with Christian inscriptions or dates or both. They are both copied from Ayyūbid prototypes, and are very easily distinguishable from each other, as one has a large hexagram on both sides, while the other has a square area. The hexagram coins bear AH dates equivalent to 1217–40; but are they really from those years? Or are they, like the bezants of Acre dated AH 506–18, anachronistic? Bearing in mind the way in which the Acre and Tripoli mints each adopted a prototype for their bezants, it is natural to wonder whether a similar policy was not followed for the dirhams. Alternatively, and taking the dates on the coins at their face value, it might be possible to see them as a single chronological sequence, all minted at Acre, with a conspicuous change of type between 638 and 641 (AD 1240/1 and 1243/4).

[9] P. Balog and J. Yvon, 'Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient latin', *RN*[6] 1 (1958), 133–68 remains the standard listing for the coins with Christian inscriptions.

The hoard evidence, fortunately, allows us to say that the 'hexagram' coins are indeed earlier in date.[10] A parcel which came on the market in 1980 consisted mostly of 'hexagram' half-dirhams and (fewer) dirhams, with a terminal date of 626 or 627, unless a batch of Dunaysir pieces (dated 628–32) were from the same source, and not intrusive. There was an admixture of Ayyūbid coins, not one of which was later than 632.

Another hoard consisted of some 500 pieces, mostly of the 'hexagram' type, including about 15 per cent from Dunaysir, 628–32, and a couple of dozen Ayyūbid coins, none later than 632.

On the other hand, Ayyūbid hoards concealed later than the early 630s contain very few of the posthumous 'hexagram' coins, and those few usually worn.

The evidence is thus reasonably clear that the issue of Crusader imitative dirhams began in or soon after 1217 (AH 614). The coins seem to have been destined to be payments in northern Mesopotamia or the regions towards Edessa.

Their issue ended—if the dates on the coins are to be believed—in AH 656 (AD 1258) (series D above). This matches the evidence of the bezants, and again points to the ruin of Acre by the War of Saint-Sabas.

11. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: CUT GOLD

Coin-like gold pieces with Latin inscriptions have been found in association with Crusader bezants,[1] and have been interpreted as coins of the Latin Kingdom from the time of Baldwin III and Amaury.[2] They are always cut into fragments: a whole piece has never been found. A forthcoming study of the fabric arouses the suspicion that many of them were struck on to strips of metal, and that circular flans were the exception, if indeed there ever were any.[3]

It is extremely unlikely that these curious pieces were an official coinage of the Latin Kingdom,[4] for several reasons. They belong to a period when there was a regular and plentiful gold coinage of bezants, and it is these *saracenati* that are always named in commercial and other documents. The alloy of the cut gold is variable, and lower than that of the bezants, and the cut pieces do not show a compact pattern of weights.

The style and quality of the lettering on the cut gold suggests, however, that it was minted in the royal mint or mints. An elongated letter B (Brady no. 3) and ornamental letters ə and M can be closely matched on deniers of Baldwin III. They point to a date before 1167.

As to the function of the cut gold pieces, there is no clear evidence. The idea that they were launched as a normal coinage, which in the event failed to become viable,

[10] Again, I am indebted to Mr Album, who shrewdly weighed the evidence of hoards that came to his notice.

[1] G. C. Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', *ANSMN* 13 (1967), 189–203, hoards nos. 1 (el-Qubeibeh) and 9 (Bedoukian 'C').

[2] J. D. Brady, 'A firm attribution of Latin gold coinage to twelfth-century Jerusalem', ibid. 23 (1978), 133–47.

[3] By E. M. Besly, probably in *CH* 7. I am indebted to Mr Besly for discussing his researches with me.

[4] *Pace* Brady's title (above) they were not (in my view) coins, and the legend DE IERVSALEM does not prove that they were minted at that city.

and that they were then thriftily cut up and used to make up the exact weights required for payments, probably founders on the wide variety of types and style (and alloy) that occurs—with its implication that they were produced over a period of time. Another suggestion is that the cut pieces were specially manufactured for sale to pilgrims who wished to offer nothing less than gold at a shrine.[5] If that guess is correct, it would make better sense of the variable weight of the fragments. Those catalogued here (Table 1) show very much the same distribution as the 101 specimens described by Brady.[6] One could imagine a changer with a table outside the shrine selling fragments one at a time to pilgrims, and matching the size of the fragment, and the price—perhaps about 12d—to each customer.

The fragments of Islamic gold are on average lighter, probably just because they are from coins struck on thinner flans. One would expect them to be of good gold. The Latin cut pieces in the Maraş hoard vary between 50 and about 60 per cent gold.[7]

TABLE 1. *Weights of 94 gold fragments*

Interval (g)		*Interval* (g)	
0·11–0·15	XIIII	0·61–0·65	XX
0·16–0·20	XXXIIIII	0·66–0·70	XXXX
0·21–0·25	XXXXXIIII	0·71–0·75	XXXXX
0·26–0·30	XXXXIII	0·76–0·80	XI
0·31–0·35	XXXXXXXXXXXII	0·81–0·85	XXX
0·36–0·40	XXXXXXX	0·86–0·90	X
0·41–0·45	XXXXXXXI	0·91–0·95	X
0·46–0·50	XXXXXX	0·96–1·00	X
0·51–0·55	XXXX	1·01–1·05	XXX
0·56–0·60	XX	over 1·05	XXX

Note: X = Latin fragment. I = Islamic fragment.

The classification of the Latin fragments is obviously difficult. Very few die-links have yet been found (see nos. 177–8, and 203–4 below). Where only two or three consecutive letters of the legends can be known from any one piece, the reconstruction of the complete legends is beset by uncertainty. The majority of pieces, nevertheless, may confidently be stated to read either BĀLəVINVS or ĀMĀLRICVS (with the possible addition of REX) around a Star of David design, with a grid in octafoil reverse reading IERVSALEM or a variant. The cut pieces in the el-Qubeibeh and Maraş hoards[8] seem to have been exclusively of this type. The hoards date it to the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The relatively uncommon pieces with other designs, or with lettering which cannot be part of the above legends, are of particular interest. Might a specimen with

[5] This general idea was first expressed in A. J. Seltman, 'Coins of the Crusades', *NCirc.* 74 (1966), 32 f.: 'To this day temple tokens are sold to pilgrims at shrines in India. Possibly the deniers . . . might also have constituted some form of token coinage for the use of pilgrims . . .'

[6] Brady, loc. cit. (n. 2 above).

[7] Analyses of them are published in A. A. Gordus and D. M. Metcalf, 'Neutron activation analysis of the gold coinage of the Crusader states', *Metallurgy in Numismatics* I (1980), 119–50, at p. 150.

[8] Miles, loc. cit. (n. 1 above).

a grid design on both sides, and which reads COM or CON (Brady 64) be interpreted as COMES HENRICVS (thus after the fall of Jerusalem)? Or is the vital letter an N, and if so is FVLCONIS a possibility? (This would be to place the beginnings of the series very early.)

A specimen on which the legends are reversed (to mark a regency?), and which reads quite unequivocally +RA . . . (no. 142 below) cannot be given to Baldwin. Might it belong to Raymond III of Tripoli (COMES RAIMVNDVS?) as regent of the Kingdom, 1184-6?—an infringement less serious than if Raymond had ventured to put his name on official coins of the kingdom.

Another specimen on which the legends are reversed reads clearly BAL and ∵H . . . S (Brady 5).

Examples reading SIGNVM BALDVINI REGIS, to which Brady refers, may well be later in date than those with AMALRICVS. Dotted borders seem to be associated with thinner flans and paler gold, and one may guess that they are from the time of Baldwin IV or V.

Rare bilingual fragments imitate dinars or bezants. It is likely that they stand early in the series, and they may have had a lower survival-rate than the issues of the 1180s onwards.

At the other end of the series, perhaps, lies a type with a cross moline on each side. One specimen catalogued below is heavily debased. The only traces of legends on the available pieces are fat strokes with spreading serifs.

12. ANTIOCH: BILLON DENIERS

Billon deniers were a plentiful and stable coinage at Antioch from somewhat before the middle of the twelfth century until, probably, 1268. There were two series. The first, issued by Raymond of Poitiers and during the minority of Bohemund III, was characterized by a right-facing bare-headed profile bust of the prince. (The legends on Bohemund's coins are not reversed, in spite of his minority.) The second, introduced at about the date when Bohemund assumed power in 1163, bore a left-facing bust of the prince in helmet and chain armour, with a cross on the helmet, and flanked by a crescent and star. The same design was continued by Bohemund IV, Raymond-Roupen, and Bohemund V and VI.

The 'bare-head' deniers of Raymond of Poitiers, 1136-49, are so scarce today that one might have been tempted to argue that their issue did not last for long, and that they might, for example, have been introduced at the time of the Second Crusade (when king Louis VII of France and his consort were received by Raymond at Antioch).[1] But the similar coins of Bohemund III were until a few years ago even more scarce—Schlumberger knew of only three specimens—and yet hoards found recently have brought two hundred to light, and statistical study of their dies suggests

[1] D. M. Metcalf, 'Billon coinage of the Crusading principality of Antioch', *NC*[7] 9 (1969), 247-67, at pp. 255 f., summarizes the older literature and reproduces the line-drawings from it. A corpus remains to be made.

that the issue originally totalled at least three or four million coins.[2] Might not the coins of Raymond have had an equally low survival-rate? They are almost all from different obverse dies, and they exhibit quite a range of style. An argument which is at first sight more secure is that the recent hoards of 'bare-head' coins of Bohemund III include virtually none of Raymond. This too founders on the observation that Raymond's coins are of much better silver than those of Bohemund,[3] and would almost inevitably have been withdrawn from circulation either officially or unofficially when the alloy standard was reduced. It has to be said, therefore, that we have no means of knowing whether Raymond's coins were ever plentiful, until a hoard concealed during their currency turns up. The silver contents, of upwards of 60 per cent, would be surprisingly high for a date in the later 1140s, or at least that would be so in the Latin Kingdom, and one might guess at an origin earlier in Raymond's reign.

Bohemund's 'bare-head' coins initially contained between 35 and 40 per cent silver. (Hardly any analyses are available of the later varieties.) Their weights vary rather widely, but there is no evidence that this reflects anything other than latitude of mint practice.[4] The average weight was initially *c.*0·83 g.[5] (The few available specimens of Raymond's coins show a similar pattern of weights.) The intrinsic value of Bohemund's coins was thus similar to that of Baldwin's deniers for the Latin Kingdom.

A stylistic analysis of Bohemund's coins has established a sequence of varieties. The order in which they were originally arranged, and numbered, has been revised.[6] To avoid confusion they have been redesignated as Classes A–E, with the original numbering given here in parentheses.

Class

A (1a) With portrait modelled in relief; square letters Λ and V (see Fig. 11). Some specimens have a narrow, 'man-in-the-moon' portrait, as found on Raymond's coins.

B (2b) With linear portrait; square letters Λ and V.
Rev. (i) plain, (ii) annulet, (iii) pellet.

C (2a) With linear portrait; shaped letters A and V.
Rev. (i) plain, (ii) annulet, (iii) pellet.

D (2a var.) The portrait degenerates later in this variety, and legend marks are introduced.

E (1b) With crude linear portrait; shaped letters A and V. Crescent mark on neck (lacking, or with points of crescent downwards, are perhaps early varients; normally upwards). Later coins of improved workmanship, with ornamental lettering.

The 'bare-head' coins were probably issued throughout the regency, 1149–63. The changing proportions of the classes in the currency during those years are illustrated by the contrast between the Subak parcel and the Ras Shamra hoard.

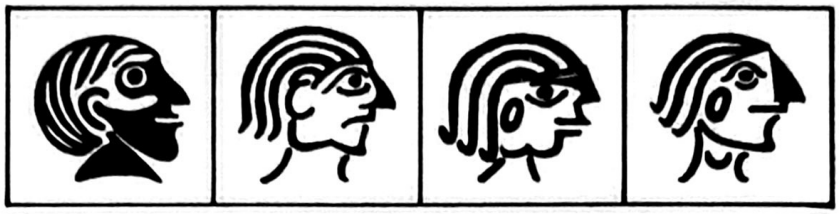
[2] Ibid., pp. 248–55; supplemented by id., 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch', at pp. 455 f.

[3] Unpublished streak analyses (NAA) by Professor A. A. Gordus.

[4] Coins with a dot in the second, third, or fourth quarter averaging over 1·0 g., but one should take this to be coincidence unless more evidence in the same sense is forthcoming.

[5] Note that, in the rearranged sequence, the average weights for the Subak parcel are: Class A, 0·83 g.; Class B, 0·83 g.; Class C, 0·81 g.

[6] C. J. Sabine, 'The sequence of varieties of the "bare head" type of Bohemund III of Antioch, *NC* 141 (1981), 158–63.



A	✠BOAMVHDVS ✠ANTIOCHIA
B	✠BOANVHDVS ✠ANTIOCHIA
C,D	✠BOANVNDVS ✠ANTIOCHIA
E	✠BOANVHDVS ✠ANTIOCHIA

FIG. 11

A reform of the coinage, for which a date in the mid-1160s seems to be required by the hoard evidence,[7] swept away the bare-head coins very thoroughly and replaced them with the 'helmet' type. In the Havardjian parcel there was one stray 'bare-head' coin left, among 139 'helmet' coins.[8] The 'helmet' type was on a new and heavier weight-standard, typically *c.*0·96 g,[9] but of a lower fineness, controlled within narrow limits at around 27 per cent silver[10] and maintained unaltered for many decades. Metal analyses of billon coins are liable to give an exaggerated figure for silver contents because of the problems of 'surface enrichment'. A comparison of analyses made by exactly the same scientific procedures (which should discount many of the uncertainties) indicates that the intrinsic value of the 'helmet' coins, at about 0·26 g of pure silver, was marginally lower than that of the earlier 'bare-head'

[7] The Samos hoard already includes Class E, and a series of hoards plausibly from the time of Saladin's conquests end with Class F. The introduction of Class A should therefore be pushed back as far as conveniently possible towards the obvious *terminus* of 1163. But one should not assume that the change was made instantly in 1163.

[8] The Ras Shamra hoard is (*a*) from outside Antiochene territority, and (*b*) either of discrete age-structure (a double hoard?) or of doubtful integrity.

[9] The average varies from hoard to hoard depending on the conditions of burial, the degree of wear, the thoroughness of modern cleaning, etc. At its heaviest (which could be nearest the truth) the figure is a little over 1·0 g. Comparative figures broken down by class, with histograms and comments on skewness, will be found in D. M. Metcalf, 'Three recent parcels of helmet deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch concealed at about the time of Saladin's conquests', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 137–44.

[10] The calibration of this figure is problematic, and one should not say more than 'about a quarter'. But the detailed figures clearly demonstrate the consistency of the alloy.

coins, at about 0·28 g. If the later 'bare-head' coins had declined slightly in quality, the intention may have been to replace them at par.

The 'helmet' deniers, which were evidently struck in vast quantities[11] during the reign of Bohemund III, from many hundreds if not thousands of dies, are the commonest type of Crusader coin to be found today. They became an 'immobilized type' and there are numerous small variations in the style, lettering, and stops. The series was originally classified by D. F. Allen into ten types in the name of one or other Bohemund, plus the identical issues of Raymond Roupen, who seized control of Antioch from Bohemund IV in 1216–19. Allen's types were numbered 1 to 6, plus an irregular series numbered 1* to 3*, and a variant on which the bust faces right. Numerous articles and hoard reports have since modified the sequence. The criteria by which the groups were defined have very largely remained valid, except that it now seems doubtful whether types 1*, 2*, and 3* are usefully to be seen as the three substantive types of the irregular series; and some of the mules on which Allen based his chronology have been called into question.[12] The opportunity has been taken to redesignate the types Class A, B, C, etc., in what one may hope is a definitive order (see Fig. 12).

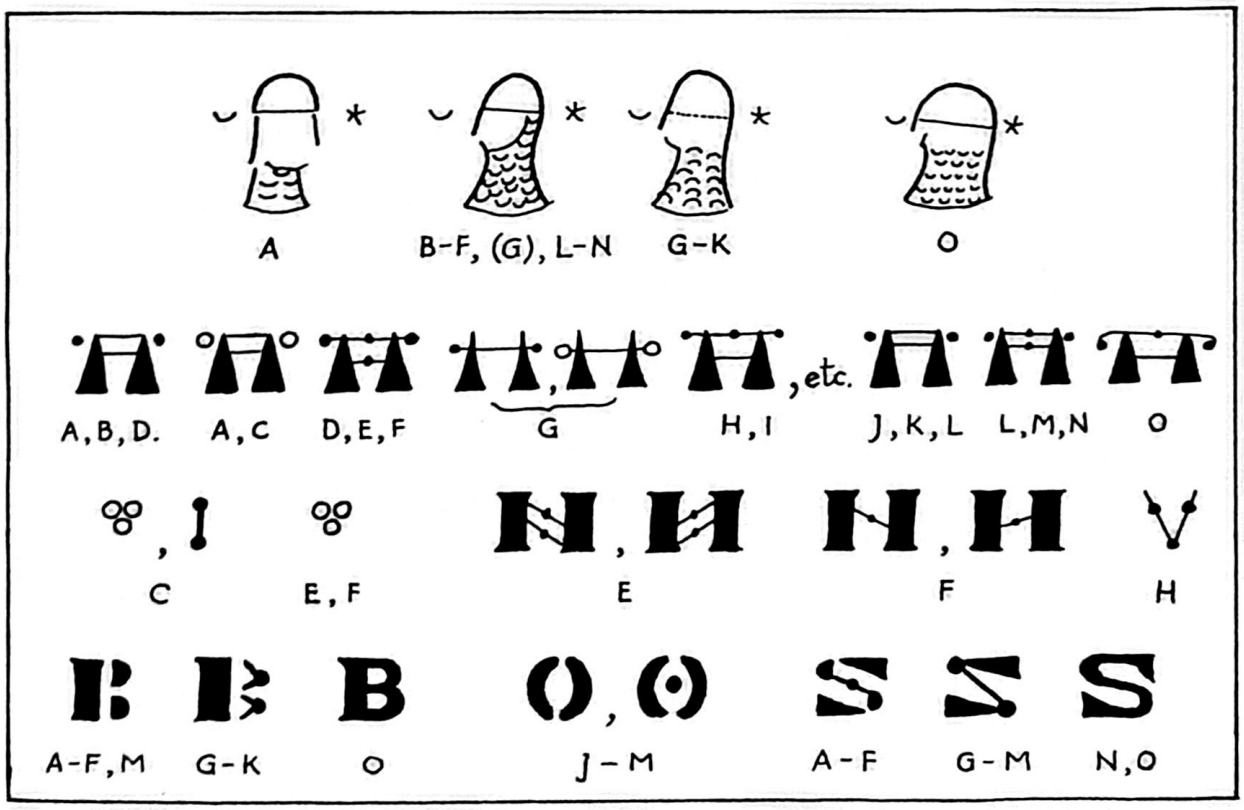


FIG. 12. Characteristic letter forms, etc., serving to identify the different classes of 'helmet' deniers.

[11] Classes A–C could mostly represent the recoinage of the existing silver stocks of 'bare-head' deniers. Class E is also extremely plentiful.

[12] Allen's 1/2 mule has annulets on the reverse As, and is better described as Type 1 var. (now Class C).

THE MAIN SERIES (*c.*1163–1188)

Class A. Head to right. On some specimens the letter Ā is dotted (cf. Class B), and on others it is ornamented with annulets (cf. Class C). These alternatives are occasionally muled with each other. The crescent in the first quarter of the reverse sometimes points outwards. There are rare early coins similar to Class A but with head to left;[13] and coins with head right which are in the style of Class B.[14]

Class A/B mule. Head to right. Coins which read +ĀM . . . rather than +ĀH . . . might be considered as mules.

Class B/A mules. Head to left. These should show the plain or single-barred form of C on the reverse.[15]

Class B. Allen type 5. The reverse has M in ĀMTIOCNIĀ. Obverses with a reversed D in BOĀMVDNVS are a frequent variant.

Class B/C transitional.[16] Allen type 5/1. The status of some of the coins that have been published as B/C mules is doubtful. The style is certainly that of Class B, but the lettering is irregular. The evidence of the Lilburn parcel is valuable.

Class C/B mule.[17]

Class C. Allen type 1. This class is very plentiful, and several (conflicting) attempts have been made to subdivide it. Allen proposed 1a, 1b, and 1c. 1a had an undotted O, and a C ornamented with annulets. It has turned out to be very scarce, and its status as a variety is doubtful. 1b usually had a dotted O, and a C ornamented with pellets. 1c was as 1b, but with stops on either side of the reverse initial cross, and an eye represented by a pellet and crescent. The hoards that have been studied since Allen wrote have shown that the varieties as defined are by no means mutually exclusive. The engraving of the eye is not a useful criterion and the scheme is generally unsatisfactory. The hoards have also brought to light the following reverse variants (unknown to Allen), which make up 5 to 10 per cent of Class C:

a +ĀHTIOCHI·Ā[18] (or . . . I·Ā·[19])
b +ĀHTI–OCHIĀ (3 annulets).[20] (See Fig. 12.)
c +ĀHTI–OCHIĀ (2 linked dots).[21] (See Fig. 12.)
d +ĀHTI·OCHIĀ[22]

There is a range of style, some coins having a bust very close in style to Class B, and others having a taller, thinner bust. Pesant has argued that the variant with three annulets is late, since the same symbol is used in Classes E and F. This argument conflicts with the more general argument from the style of the bust; and in any case Class D intervenes. The chronological position of the reverse variants within Class C is best judged from their style (in default of hoard evidence). There need be little doubt that they are early. Their purpose is unknown, although it may be presumed that they are some sort of control marks referring to the work of the mint. The same questions arise with the 'bare-head' deniers of Bohemund III.

Coins with either one or two stops beside the initial cross on the reverse (·+·, ·+, +·) generally have a narrow bust and are of less neat engraving and poorer striking.

Class C/D mule.[23]

Class D. Allen type 4. The stylistic progression of Classes D, E, and F (Allen types 4, 3, and 2) holds good in the reverse order from that proposed in the publication of the Mağaracik hoard. In general

[13] Metcalf, 'Three recent parcels' (loc. cit., n. 9 above), 2/1.
[14] Ibid., 1/3.
[15] R. Pesant, 'The ANS hoard of Antioch deniers', *ANSMN* 18 (1972), 73–85, pl. 16, 22 (no. 21 is doubtful).
[16] Ibid., p. 78, no. 26; A. Lilburn, 'A parcel apparently from an early hoard of "helmet" deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch', *NC* 141 (1981), 163–6, nos. 9–12; M. S. Phillips, 'A 13th century billon hoard, 1976', *Coin Hoards* 4 (1978), 450.
[17] Lilburn, loc. cit., no. 13.
[18] Ras Shamra 25, 27–9; Mağaracik 22–7; ANS hoard 34–5. (See nn. 2 and 15 above, and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Mağaracik hoard of "helmet" coins of Bohemund III of Antioch', *ANSMN* 16 (1970), 95–109.)
[19] Mağaracik 28.
[20] Ras Shamra 18–19, 23; Mağaracik 29–31; ANS hoard 124–5.
[21] Ras Shamra 20–2; Mağaracik 32–3; ANS hoard 120–3.
[22] Metcalf, 'Billon coinage' (n. 1 above), no. 2; Mağaracik 34.
[23] Lilburn, loc. cit., nos. 71–2.

style Class D is not unlike the later coins of Class C, although with new lettering forms. Its correct position in the sequence is made clear by the Lilburn parcel.[24]

Classes D/E and E/D mules. These would be unrecognizable,[25] as the obverses are virtually identical.

Class E. Allen type 3. A large issue, with little formal variation. The letter-forms B with angular loops, Θ in BΘ, and a reverse double-barred N occur quite frequently. Dotted letters, e.g. C and double-barred N and И, are also found. A proportion of the coins have a bust which resembles Class F in its general outline. These are presumably a later sub-class.

The occurrence of this class in the Samos hoard provides an important fixed point for twelfth-century chronology.

Classes E/F and F/E. The formal criterion by which Classes E and F are distinguished is the double or single barring of the letters N, H, etc. (see Fig. 12). Coins that are formally in the style of Class E are commonly found in the general style of Class F, and 'mules' are relatively plentiful. Their status as true mules is therefore doubtful.

Class F. Allen type 2. In a recent hoard[26] it was possible to see that coins of this class were distinguishable from Class E in being on irregularly shaped flans, weakly struck, and of a peculiar greyish colour. The suggestion has therefore been made that they are the final issue of the period before Saladin's conquests. The inferior quality of many of the coins of Class F may point to their having been struck during Saladin's attacks.

THE SERIES WITH REVERSED CHAIN ARMOUR (*c.*1188 × 1216?)

Allen described as 'irregular' three types on which the chain armour is indicated by crescents pointing downwards (see Fig. 12). It is problematic both when and where the series was struck. If at Antioch, it would have to be placed either before or after the coins of Raymond Roupen, and would in any case suggest that there were sweeping changes of mint personnel. The Stewart hoard seems to offer firm evidence on this point: it contains an exceptionally high proportion of the 'irregular' coins, many *à fleur de coin*, and none of Roupen. In all probability, therefore, it antedates Roupen's occupation of Antioch in 1216–19. This argument is weakened but not decisively so, by the consideration that the 'irregular' coins might have been struck elsewhere than at Antioch. Allen wondered whether they were struck for Raymond Roupen before he seized Antioch. (This is historically very unlikely.)

Two other possibilities have been canvassed, neither of them very convincing. The series might have been produced by Italian commercial interests in order to maintain the supply of a well-appreciated trade coinage after the political collapse of Antioch; or it might (like the rare billon deniers in the name of Levon II, dated 1203 and 1208[27]) have been produced by the Armenians. A third possibility is that it was produced by one or other of the military orders for their semi-autonomous marcher territories in the north (although this would need to be argued, and proved, from purely numismatic evidence, since we have no other reason to think that they were granted or assumed minting rights). Whatever the correct explanation, it is required to account for a substantial coinage, struck, it has been estimated, from upwards of 500 obverse dies, and in Bohemund's name. If the 'irregular' series was struck

[24] See Metcalf, 'Three recent parcels' (loc. cit., n. 9 above).

[25] Ibid. 2/39; id., 'The J. R. Stewart hoard of "helmet" coins of Antioch', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 27/29 (1973/5), 72–80.

[26] Metcalf, 'Three recent parcels' (loc. cit., n. 9 above).

[27] P. Z. Bedoukian, 'A unique billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and its historical significance', *NC*[7] 7 (1967), 189–97.

elsewhere than Antioch, one might hope eventually to localize it by comparing the proportions in which it occurs in different hoards. (The billon deniers are rather infrequent as site finds.) There is, unfortunately, no record where the Stewart hoard was found.

The series defies detailed classification, since it lacks stylistic order.[28] Classes H and I (Allen's types 1* and 2*) are related to each other. They are relatively scarce, and have a distinctively 'soft' appearance, suggesting that either the dies were made from metal of a different quality, or the flans were struck with less force, or at a lower temperature. Classes J and K (type 3*) can be subdivided into those specimens on which the A and S are ornamented with annulets (and which seem to stand first), and the majority, on which the letters are ornamented with dots. As many of the coins of Classes J–K in the Stewart hoard are in very fresh condition, the correct sequence may well be H–I, then J–K. A scarce variety with inverted crescent on the obverse, and which uses a solid letter O, and sometimes reads +BĀMVNDVS (Class G), is best seen as the earliest of the irregular varieties. There was just one in the Stewart hoard.

Class G. Inverted crescent on obverse. Characteristic letter forms include a solid O, isolated dots within or between letters, retrograde legends, and the reading +BĀMVNDVS[29] or +BĀIMVNDVS (Schl., pl. 2, 18). Schlumberger's attribution to Raymond of Poitiers can be dismissed without ado. The suggestion that the altered name refers to Raymond Roupen deserves more serious consideration.[30] If it were correct, it might serve to date the coins—presumably to 1208. But the numismatic evidence remains of the slenderest.

Class H. Allen type 1*, characterized by a V with three dots, interrupting the legend +ĀNTI-OCHIĀ (see Fig. 12). There is a small dot at the centre point of the letter Σ on the obverse; and the T on the reverse is distinctive in that the cross-bar is cut in a single stroke running above the upright. Class H, too, may have an inverted crescent on the obverse[31]—possibly on the earlier coins in the sequence.

In the Stewart hoard, Class H lacks die-links, whereas they are numerous in Classes J and K: this is an argument for regarding Class H as earlier than J and K.

Class I. Allen type 2*. Similar, without symbol. Edis mentions a coin of this variety reading +BĀMVNDVS, which might suggest the order G–I–H. A scarce variety of doubtful status.

There is insufficient evidence to place the coins of Classes J and K into their correct chronological sequence. They fall essentially into two stylistic groups, distinguishable by the bust, but with many ornamental irregularities in the legends. One has a small, neat bust, the other a deeper helmet with a prominent, seriffed nasal. Which came first?

The elements of the problem seem to be as follows: a distinctive letter Ā is found almost throughout both varieties, as is a closed C without serifs, and a broken O. The variety with the neat bust normally has As and Σs ornamented with annulets—and an annulet for the prince's eye. The other variety uses dots. But a few of the neat coins have a quite different Ā on the reverse and a seriffed C; these presumably stand either right at the beginning, or right at the end, of type 3*. There is a coin in the

[28] The legends are so variable that it is quite extravagant to speak of 'mules', as has been done by some students.

[29] Pesant, 'The ANS hoard' (loc. cit., n. 15 above), no. 380, on which the reading +B . . . is indistinct. Mağaracik no. 346 has an inverted crescent but appears to be otherwise more like Class K.

[30] A. J. Lilburn, 'A re-attribution of a coin of Antioch: Raymond of Poitiers—or Raymond Roupen?' *NCirc.* 84 (1976), 464; P. E. Edis, 'A re-attribution of a coin of Antioch', ibid. 86 (1978), 243–4.

[31] Pesant, 'The ANS hoard', no. 378.

other style, with quite exceptional lettering of an experimental character, and this too is a candidate for an early place in the sequence.

As the neat coins are known mostly from the Stewart hoard, the guess has been made that they are over-represented in it as the latest coins in the hoard. The new form of letter A and the seriffed C will on that reading of the evidence mark the beginning of a new set of letter-punches.

The experimental coin has therefore been placed at the beginning of Class J, and Class K, which follows on closely, has been subdivided, to distinguish the latest coins as K2. Future evidence may modify the arrangement.

Class J. Larger bust, As and Ss normally ornamented with dots.

Class K. Small, neat bust; annulet ornaments (K1). Class K2 introduces a seriffed C and a new letter A.

THE COINAGE OF RAYMOND-ROUPEN, *c.*1216–19

Coins with the name RVPINVS, and with the crescents of the chain armour once again pointing upwards, occur in a profuse range of minor variants. They share one small but significant stylistic detail: the initial cross on obverse and reverse is composed of four separate wedges or triangles. Coins with the same cross of four wedges but with the legend BOAMVNDVS, which Allen interpreted as 4/5 mules and Pesant designated type 4*, stand very close in style to the issues of Raymond-Roupen, and it should be possible to decide on numismatic grounds whether they fall before or after the latter. They were certainly absent from the Stewart hoard, which presumably antedates them, since there would be no reason for middlemen in the 1950s to pick them out. The occurrence of just one in the Mağaracik hoard is statistically inconclusive.

Some of the RVPINVS coins and all (apparently) of the BOAMVNDVS coins have a tall, narrow bust of distinctive outline, with a small head and shallow helmet, and a boldly dotted eye. The chain armour follows the left-hand as well as the right-hand outline of the neck. Coins in the two names are very close to each other in style.

Others of the RVPINVS coins have a 'chin guard', and a larger head with deeper helmet, and untidier infilling of the crescents of chain armour at the lower left of the bust. Some read AITIOCIIIA, and some have a prominently seriffed nasal. All these details connect them with Class K, and suggest (unless one proposed to date the RVPINVS series earlier than the 'irregular' series) that they were modelled on that issue and followed on from it.

If one were to attempt to reverse the order, and place the BOAMVNDVS coins first, one would be postulating a reform of the mint's activity *c.*1215. It seems to make better sense to suppose that Raymond-Roupen re-activated the mint after his capture of Antioch, having a motive to put out coins bearing his own name.

Inconclusive as the numismatic evidence is, one may provisionally date the related BOAMVNDVS coins to a short period after 1219. There may then have been an interval before the new-style coinage (Class O = Allen type 6) was introduced as part of a reform visible at the Tripoli mint also.

The conspicuous discontinuities in the styles of the coins should make one

consider, too, that the mint may have been closed at some periods between 1188 and 1216, and in particular before Class H was introduced, and at the end of Class K. But this stylistic inference is not necessarily supported by historical considerations. Even when Antioch had lost most of its territory, the city itself was still strategically placed on the Orontes route from Aleppo to the coast, and trade doubtless still continued. The fact that earlier classes seem not to have dwindled from the currency implies a steadily favourable balance of payments. Some of the bullion may have come from the Latin Kingdom (via the coffers of the military orders?), and if so, that source may have become erratic after 1188.

Class L. Coins of Raymond-Roupen often with 'chin guard'. There is a considerable stylistic range, exemplified in the ANS hoard.

Class L/M. It is possible that specimens of Class L with a four-dot A on the reverse, as found in Class M, should be classified as L/M (see Fig. 12).

Class M. Coins of Raymond-Roupen with characteristic shallow helmet and unusual style of infilling of bust with crescents; normally with annulets inserted into the legend.

Class N. Coins of Bohemund similar in style to Class M.

THE 'NEW-STYLE' COINAGE: MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The distinctive smaller coins of Allen type 6 are evidently the latest issue of deniers at Antioch. The date at which they were introduced can be guessed only from the parallel introduction of new-style coinage at the Tripoli mint—not necessarily at exactly the same moment.

Class O. These were prominent in the al-Mina hoard.[32]

13. ANTIOCH: FRACTIONAL COINAGE

There are attributable to the princes of Antioch, besides the early coppers in Byzantine style and the long, uniform series of billon deniers a variety of copper types in the thinner west European fabric. Some bear the name of Bohemund while on others the legend is merely PRINCEPS ANTIOCHIE or ANTIOCHIE. Because these coppers were carefully excluded from hoards,[1] it is exceedingly difficult to date them or even to arrange them into a plausible sequence. It ought to be possible to glean some ideas by comparing the styles of lettering with those found on the billon; but this procedure has not in fact been fruitful. Most of the types are scarce today, which does not help the numismatist in his task—but their scarcity tells us little about the scale on which they were issued in relation to the deniers. Some types include specimens with lettering in degenerate styles, and with blundered legends. The most plentiful type is so poorly struck that the lettering is usually too incomplete to study. The designs of the coins, and their fabric, are of the widest diversity, and have no very obvious or certain affinities with the billon. The rare 'star and crescent' type seems to show similarities in its lettering with the 'helmet' coins of Classes G–K; but

[32] D. Allen, 'Coins of Antioch, etc., from al-Mina', *NC*[5] 17 (1937), 200–10.

[1] In Frankish Greece exactly the same was true. Although the billon deniers were themselves coins of quite low value, they were carefully distinguished from the coppers, of which there are hundreds among the site-finds, but virtually none in the hoards.

so do the 'fleur-de-lis' coppers, of very different fabric. The task of classifying the fractional coinage is, in short, intractable.

Some might belong to the 1130s and 1140s, that is, they might fill the gap between the Byzantine-style copper and the billon; the type that has been read as **R A M** in fanciful lettering has been attributed to Raymond of Poitiers. Other types might, perhaps, belong to the period which saw the coppers of Guy and of Henry

FIG. 13. Types A2, B (*top row*), C1, C2, D (*middle row*), E, F1, F2 (*bottom row*).

in the Latin Kingdom; Schlumberger pl. 3, 15, and 16 are possible candidates. Most, however, were in all probability issued concurrently with the billon. Whereas in the Latin Kingdom billon oboles were minted, of the same design and alloy as the deniers, at Antioch (and Tripoli) the fractional coinage was of copper. Most of the types have been analysed,[2] and have been found to contain no silver whatsoever.

The types, arranged purely by guesswork into what might one hopes be a chronological order, are shown in Fig. 13. There are two pairs of types which are related by their style, and these are bracketed in the list below. It seems to be the case that no hoard-context is recorded for any single one of the types. There are two archaeological contexts at Hama which suggest that the fleur-de-lis type was introduced before *c.*1200. This does not narrow the options by much.

[2] By X-ray fluorescence spectrometry. Some of the 'copper' coins from Frankish Greece are in fact very base billon, but none was found at Antioch. I am grateful to Mr Mark Pollard, of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, who put the spectra of the Ashmolean's coins (nos. 336–40, 342–9) on the screen for me.

The only really useful evidence consists of the statistics from the excavations at Antioch and at Hama, where the following quantities of each type have been found:

	Schlumberger	(*Type*)	*Antioch*	*Hama*
A1	2, 19	R/A/M	4	—
A2	3, 12	Gateway	3	—
B	3, 3	Star and crescent	2	—
C1	3, 15	Edifice?	4	—
C2	3, 16	S	6	1
D	3, 1–2	Lis	36	23
		— (reversed legends)	3	
E	3, 13–14	B	4	1
F1	3, 17	Helmeted head	8	—
F2	3, 18	Cross/grid	—	—

The fleur-de-lis type, which is the most plentiful in the Antioch finds, and completely dominates the (essentially later?) material from Hama, was issued probably over a lengthy period. It has been classified by De Wit into Types 1–4. The characteristics of his varieties[3] include:

1. Lis with plain foot, upturned petals. BOEMVNDVS (cf. Tripoli). Reversed legends occur. H for A.
2. Lis with curled foot.
3. Four dots in angles of lis. Stars in angles of cross. (Lettering cf. *Rupinus* coinage? This type tends to be on more carefully rounded flans.)
4. Foot of lis divided into three. Dots in upper angles. Unbarred A.

This scheme is undoubtedly incomplete and will need substantial revision and refinement to accommodate specimens not known to De Wit which do not fit into it. Without the benefit of hoard evidence, and given the poor striking of so many of the coins, a definitive classification will be hard to reach. Note also that two specimens in the Ashmolean collection, from obverses in very different styles, appear to share a reverse die. A third appears to read +BOEMVNDVS (retrograde, and with E not A) on both sides.

14. THE COUNTY OF TRIPOLI: BEZANTS, DIRHAMS, AND GROS

The coinage of the counts of Tripoli consisted, until *c.*1268, of at least three denominations, namely gold bezants, possibly silver dirhams and half-dirhams (although we have no positive evidence for them), billon deniers, and copper coins, perhaps oboles. The billon and copper are sometimes of related designs, but otherwise the denominations each follow their own course of development, and their numismatic classification has to be approached separately. There is, unfortunately, hardly any hoard-evidence.

[3] G. W. De Wit, 'Lettering on copper coins from Antioch', *NCirc.* 89 (1981), 117. The article includes drawings of the details.

GOLD BEZANTS

The papal letter banning the manufacture of pseudo-Islamic bezants speaks of the coins which had been struck in the cities of Acre and Tripoli.[1] Since the overwhelming majority of the known bezants fall into two series, based on prototypes of the caliphs al-Āmir and al-Mustanṣir respectively, and since there is very clear evidence that those in the name of al-Āmir are from the Latin Kingdom, we may deduce with confidence that the al-Mustanṣir bezants are Tripolitan. There are three issues, of varying designs, which have in common only the caliph's name of the prototypes. Two are rare but the third is plentiful.

The '*Agnus Dei*' hoard (no. 34 below) is predominantly Tripolitan, but other than that, there is no worthwhile hoard-evidence to throw light on the sequence of varieties. The fineness of the coins is therefore at present the main clue to their interpretation. The rare coins from the first two prototypes range from 98 to 87 per cent gold, and are no doubt the earliest, being analogous to the early bezants of good gold in the Latin Kingdom. They were replaced by a series of which the earliest specimens show a continuing decline from 90 to 71 per cent gold, but which then, as the style became coarser, settled to a well-maintained standard of about 62 per cent, that is, some 4–5 per cent less than the third-phase bezants of the Latin Kingdom. At an intermediate date, the design was slightly modified by the insertion of the Latin letters B and T into the pseudo-Kufic script (and these letters may well stand for Bohemund and Tripoli), and was later modified again by the insertion of a cross imposed at the centre of the design. The coins with the cross are of marginally lower fineness (the standard having 'drifted') and, as the '*Agnus Dei*' hoard includes these in association with the 'Christian' bezants of the Latin Kingdom, there need be little doubt that they represent the response at Tripoli to the ban on the striking of coins bearing Islamic proclamations of faith. They should thus probably be dated after 1250. If the letter B stands for Bohemund, it cannot have been introduced into the design before 1187. The reform of the alloy antedates the addition of the letters. When the bezants of the Latin Kingdom were reformed, probably *c.*1187 or a year or two later, Tripoli would be likely to follow suit. We may guess that Balog and Yvon nos. 7 and 11 are from *c.*1187, and that the letters B, T were introduced rather later. The disasters of 1187–8 may well have caused an interruption of several years in the minting of gold, at least in significant quantities. Most of the surviving specimens without a cross may therefore be from the first half of the thirteenth century. As with the Jerusalem bezants, the rarity at the present day of the earlier, better-alloy bezants poses an insoluble numismatic problem: were they always rare, or do they appear so mainly because they were melted down on the occasion of a reform?

In an attempt to explain the small (but certain) difference in alloy between the later bezants of the two states, it may be suggested that both were coins with a theoretical gold content of 12 carats, but that the Jerusalem bezant was a coin nominally weighing 18 carats (thus 66·7 per cent), whereas the Tripolitan bezant had a nominal weight of 19 carats (thus 63 per cent). In use, merchants would no doubt

[1] See above, section 6. The text follows the conclusions of Gordus and Metcalf, loc. cit.

weigh out large payments, and it was on the stability of their alloy that the coins' reputations rested.

IMITATIVE DIRHAMS AND HALF-DIRHAMS

The possible attribution of dirhams and half-dirhams with a six-pointed star design, imitating those of Aleppo struck by al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, but dated between 1217 and 1233, or to 1240/1, has been discussed above.[2]

GROS AND HALF-GROS

The well-struck, handsome gros of Tripoli weigh between 4·2 and 4·3 g, that is to say, more or less the same as the gros tournois introduced into the French currency by Louis IX in 1266. Because of the matching weights, and the novelty of gros in north-western Europe at that date, it has been supposed that the Tripolitan coins were modelled on the French, and that they cannot therefore have been introduced before 1266: if so they are unlikely to antedate the loss of Antioch in 1268. The variety that would seem to be the earliest is inscribed merely **BOЄMVNDVS COMES**—which could apply to Bohemund VI (1251–75) or Bohemund VII (1275–87). It is only the later variety, with the legend **SEPTIMVS BOЄMVNDVS COMES**, of which the attribution admits of no doubt, and which suggests an attempt to distinguish Bohemund VII from his predecessor. Whether this amounts to an argument for attributing the plain **BOЄMVNDVS COMES** coins to Bohemund VI is doubtful. One could also argue that the **SЄPTIMVS** legend marks the majority of Bohemund VII.

The design of the coins is fairly similar to the gros tournois, but not, perhaps, so similar as to demand the explanation that one was copied from the other.

The argument from the weight of the Tripolitan gros is worrying, because specimens are often rather heavier than the French standard (4·22 g). Could the copying, even, have been in the other direction?

In short, our ability to classify the gros (and acompanying half-gros) is fragile, and what we need is a couple of substantial hoards. The silver portion of the Ras Shamra hoard[3] consists of twenty French gros tournois (average weight 3·99 g) and nine Tripolitan gros (average weight 4·20 g), together with four Cypriot gros petits of Henry II which would require a date for the hoard of *c.*1315–20 if its integrity were accepted. It is probably a sufficient demonstration that the **BOЄMVNDVS COMЄS** variety (of which there was only one specimen) is the earlier, but it is not big enough to contribute much else.

15. THE COUNTY OF TRIPOLI: BILLON AND COPPER

From roughly the middle of the twelfth century until roughly the middle of the thirteenth, there were two successive types of billon coinage, with respectively a star and crescent, and a star as their distinctive designs. There were also two successive

[2] See above, section 10.

[3] Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', at pp. 198 ff.

designs of copper coinage, using respectively a star and crescent, and a fortified gateway. It should in principle be possible to check the chronology of the deniers by means of hoards in which they occur alongside more easily datable issues from other mints, but there is far less evidence of that kind than one would need. The copper coins were virtually never hoarded, and they therefore present even more difficult problems.

The 'star and crescent' deniers,[1] in the name of a count Raymond, must begin before the death of Raymond III in 1187. They were struck from an estimated 465 dies. The 'star and crescent' coppers also begin in Raymond's name, although they then continue as an anonymous issue reading merely TRIPOLIS or CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. It is a reasonable conjecture that they are contemporary with the deniers of similar design.

The 'star' deniers, which are known from several hoards from the 1220s and later, begin in the name of Raymond, and continue in that of Bohemund. They must, therefore, have begun before *c.*1187. They, too, were struck from several hundred dies. (Schlumberger's acceptance of a Raymond IV (III), 1187–1200, was mistaken.) A single specimen in Raymond's name occurs in a hoard of Antiochene deniers concealed almost certainly in the 1180s.[2]

The 'castle' coppers (with a fortified gateway as their type) again are anonymous, but it is evident from their style that they are essentially contemporary with the star designs.

There seem to have been at Tripoli, then, two pairs of issues, first billon and copper coins both with a star and crescent design, then billon and copper coins with respectively a star and a fortified gateway. The second pair in particular are clearly of the character of 'types immobilisés', struck for half a century and more (cf. the *Amalricus* coinage) and susceptible of a stylistic classification. But the exact dating of any of the minor varieties is decidedly conjectural. Before we look at the nature of the arguments about them, there are two other quite separate series of copper coins, and one more of billon, which should be mentioned. They are presumably earlier in date, as may be judged from their style, and also because immobilized types were not normally interrupted and then resumed.

The billon coins, in the name of Count Bertrand (1109–12) (Fig. 14*b*), present no problem as to their date of introduction. They imitate closely some earlier deniers of Toulouse (Fig. 14*a*), and they are, so far as we know, by several decades the earliest billon deniers minted in the Latin East. They are very rare at the present day. Their issue seems to have been continued by Pons, for whom a single (anonymous) specimen (Fig. 14*c*) is extant. Perhaps the necessary supply of silver failed. There seems then to have been an interval of thirty years or more before billon was again minted at Tripoli.

[1] The text follows C. J. Sabine, 'The billon and copper coinage of the Crusader county of Tripoli, *c.*1102–1268', *NC*[7] 20 (1980), 71–112, with minor reservations.

[2] D. M. Metcalf, 'Three recent parcels of helmet deniers of Bohemund III of Antioch concealed at about the time of Saladin's conquests', in *Coinage of the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 137–45, no. 2/140 (illustrated).

The early copper coins with the legends RAIMVNDI COMITIS/MONETA TRIPOLIS are unusual in the use of the genitive case, and in the formula MONETA rather than CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. For those reasons they may be judged to be early: the unusual legends would otherwise interrupt a settled practice at the mint. Sabine gives them to Raymond I, and to the period before the Crusaders captured the city of Tripoli. This is problematic, but so is the alternative, of assigning them to Raymond II.

FIG. 14

The other early series of coppers reads +CIVITAS TRIPOLIS/+RAIMVNDVS COMS and takes as its type the *Agnus Dei*—or more precisely it copies a coinage of Alphonse-Jourdain minted at Saint-Gilles, on which the die-engraver evidently thought that he was engraving a horse. The Tripolitan coin, too, seems to represent a horse rather than a lamb.

The '*Moneta*' and the 'horse and cross' coppers are estimated to have been struck from approximately 160 and 70 different reverse dies respectively, and they each show a certain amount of stylistic variation, such as might be expected if each were produced over a period of time. They represent the petty currency of Tripoli in the first half of the twelfth century.

The chronological framework so far established is firm enough, but imprecise. Its only fixed point is the accession of Bohemund in 1187—which provides a *terminus post quem*. (In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries coin designs were not necessarily changed promptly with a new ruler.) In an attempt to establish other fixed points, the following hypotheses have been suggested by Sabine:

1. That the star and crescent deniers were introduced as part of a general move in the Crusader states to strike their own billon coins, at a date or dates in the 1140s. At Antioch there are scarce coins of Raymond of Poitiers (1136–49), and in the Latin Kingdom there are the deniers of Baldwin III (1143–63). The Second Crusade brought an inflow of silver to sustain the production of all these coinages.[3] But the

[3] One should not, perhaps, place too much weight on this argument, as the numbers of Crusaders who eventually reached the Holy Land was not great.

link between the star and crescent designs at Tripoli and Toulouse is that Toulouse copied the type from Tripoli, rather than the other way round as has been thought. The *raymondins* of Toulouse are mentioned in documents from 1151 onwards, but they can hardly have been introduced before the accession of Raymond V (1148), whose initial they bear. The idea may have been carried back to France after the Second Crusade, the earliest 'star and crescent' coppers having been struck perhaps *c.*1145, and the earliest deniers perhaps at the end of the 1140s.

2. That after the capture of Raymond III by the Muslims at the battle of Artah in 1164, the design of the 'star and crescent' coppers was modified to omit Raymond's name. (This is first cousin to the idea that obverse and reverse legends were interchanged during a regency.) The crudely struck coins, reading only +TRIPOLIS, are listed as Type 2. The issue of 'star and crescent' deniers, Sabine suggests, was cut short and came to an end with Raymond's capture. During his captivity, which lasted until 1173 × 1174, King Amaury held Tripoli in bailliage. As there are no anonymous deniers to match, it is probable that no deniers were minted in these ten years.

3. That the 'star' deniers may have been introduced by Raymond soon after his release.

4. That the use of linear or 'wire' borders rather than dotted borders came into vogue *c.*1215/20. This feature helps to classify the later 'star' deniers and 'castle' coppers.

5. That during the second or third decade of the thirteenth century, and certainly before 1228, the chanceries in Antioch and Tripoli began issuing documents in French instead of Latin. A novel and apparently very short-lived issue of 'star' deniers (Type 4) with the reverse legend in French (+CITE TRIPOL') may reflect that change. Sabine would date it to *c.*1235, on the uncertain evidence of the Djebail hoard, the date of deposit of which may however be a few years earlier than has been assumed. The introduction of the new-style coinage (with deniers of Type 3 and coppers of Type 6) marks a major change in the issues of the Tripoli mint—new issues with unsettled legends, types and lettering, and a reduced weight standard; and possibly a recoinage. It may well coincide with the introduction of the rather similar 'new-style' coinage at Antioch (Class O), which certainly post-dates Raymond-Roupen's reign (1216–19).

Of these five hypotheses, the first, which is of particular historical interest, might in principle find support in a hoard of mixed composition from *c.*1147, if such a treasure were ever to turn up. The second and third would be very difficult to substantiate. The fourth and fifth may be regarded as secure, although the dates they offer are subject to margins of uncertainty of five or even ten years.

The distinguishing features of the types in Sabine's classification may be summarized briefly as follows:

'*Moneta*' *coppers*. Types 1–4 read COMITIS, COMITI, COMITII, and COMIT respectively. There is little variation in style, except within Type 1, and the chronological sequence is unclear.

'*Horse and cross*' *coppers*. Type 1 has, and Type 2 lacks, an initial cross on the reverse. There are small variations in style, which cannot at present be interpreted.

'*Star and crescent*' *deniers*. Types 1, 2, and 3 have *obverse*, two dots in the first and third, first and second, and third and fourth quarters respectively. There is a stylistic progression in the size of the star, which seems to mark out Type 1 as the earliest variety.

'*Star and crescent*' *coppers*. The four types are well distinguished by the style of the star and crescent (see Fig. 15), and the differences are confirmed by the legends. Type 1 has Raymond's name. Type 2, in crude style, reads only +TRIPOLIS. Types 3 and 4 have CIVITAS TRIPOLIS, often blundered. Type 3 has a small, neat star and shallow crescent. Type 4 has a deep crescent, and also pellets instead of annulets on the reverse.

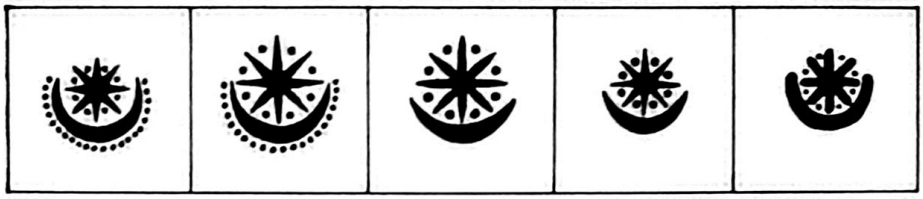


FIG. 15. Deniers of Type 1; of Types 2 and 3; coppers of Types 1 and 2; of Type 3; of Type 4.

'*Star*' *deniers*. Type 1, in fine style, reads RĀMVNDVS. Type 2, in rough style, reads BĀMVNDVS. (The subdivisions 1a and 2b, with plain initial crosses, and 1b and 2a, with dotted crosses, are problematic.) Types 3–5 are new-style, of which Type 5 is the substantive issue, with a group of three dots in the second quarter of the reverse: it reads +BĀMVND' COMS. Types 3 and 4 reflect an early, confused phase, and should perhaps have been divided into three types, reading +BOĀMVNDVS COMS, with one dot in first quarter (Type 3, var.), :BĀMVND' COMS, without dot (Type 3), and +:B.O.C.O.M.S: (Type 4).

'*Castle*' *coppers*. The formal differences between Types 1–5, consisting of small variations in the courses of masonry or the gateway (see Fig. 16), are not always easy to apply, most specimens being

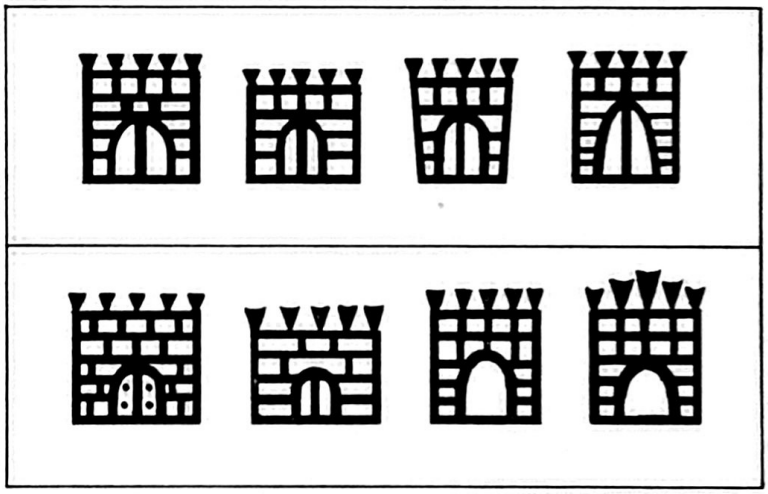


FIG. 16. Types 1a, 1b, 1 (var.), 1 (var.) (*top row*); 2, 3, 4, 5 (*bottom row*).

weakly struck. Type 1 has large, neat lettering and is of good workmanship. Type 2 has thinner, more elaborate lettering and, although the dies are carefully cut, the coins are carelessly struck from them. Type 3 represents a degeneration of Type 2. Type 4 is distinctive, with very narrow borders and correspondingly small lettering. In Type 5 the crenellations follow the curve of the border.

How well this classification will stand the test of time remains to be seen. Type 1 covers rather a wide stylistic range, and it may eventually be possible (judging by the variety of forms of the letter Ā) to subdivide it to achieve greater chronological precision.

On the new-style coins of Type 6, the cross-type is simplified and rotated through 45° in relation to the legend. There are preliminary versions related to Type 6, including one not listed by Sabine, with alternate dots and crescents in the angles of the cross.

16. EUROPEAN COINS IMPORTED INTO THE HOLY LAND FROM THE TIME OF THE THIRD CRUSADE ONWARDS

If European deniers were imported into the Crusader principalities in the decades before the fall of the First Kingdom, it would seem that in principle they were required to be melted down and reminted into the official issues of the Latin kings or of the princes of Antioch, for the hoards (such as we have) contain few strays of European types, other than the preferred currencies. By the early thirteenth century a totally different situation obtained in the Latin Kingdom (but not, apparently, at Antioch). A profuse variety of French, Italian, and other west European coins are found in hoards such as those from Tripoli, Kessab, and 'Châtellerault'. Kessab is on the approach to Antioch; yet other hoards terminating with helmet deniers of Class O are made up exclusively of Antiochene coins. Had the money found at Kessab been brought ashore only a few days previously?—and if not lost would it have been taken inland a few miles to Antioch and compulsorily reminted?

It is impossible to prove beyond dispute the character of any particular hoard. For that reason the site-finds of European coins recovered in the vicinity of Acre, Caesarea, and elsewhere are especially valuable as evidence. They are pieces that were accidentally lost, one by one, and it follows that they offer us a random sample of the currency as it was at the dates when they were lost.

Moreover, the proportion of west European to Crusader deniers among the stray finds gives a measure of the quantities in which the former were circulating. It is not possible to construct precise figures, because loss-rates may have varied from decade to decade, but it seems safe to say that millions of European coins accumulated in the Latin East, mainly (so far as the evidence is available) in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

This new phase is difficult to understand. It is not convincing to connect it with the loss of the Holy Places and the general damage caused by Saladin. The Latin Kingdom was in fairly good shape after 1192. Of course it was territorially smaller, but Acre and Tyre were embarking on their great period of commercial prosperity, which lasted until *c.*1250.[1] (But in 1220 there were complaints in the East of a shortage of cash because trade had temporarily fallen away.) In the first half of the thirteenth century gold bezants were minted, and also silver drachms, but very few deniers. Why the foreign deniers were not reminted is a mystery.[2] Numismatists should, at least, be grateful that they were not, for they give a good view of the sorts

[1] J. Riley-Smith, 'Government in Latin Syria and the commercial privileges of foreign merchants', in Baker (ed.), *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 109–32.

[2] Id., *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (1973), at p. 76 points out that in Acre and elsewhere, customs duty was taken on the export of coins and precious metal for use in minting. But it was the balance of payments which exercised an overriding control on the accumulation of bullion in a region.

of western coinage that were flowing to the Latin East—information that is denied us in the twelfth century, because the coins went into the melting-pot.

There are two further general explanations of the import of so much coinage, other than the straightforward commercial interpretation. Miss Cox saw it as money brought to the East at the time of the Third Crusade—or at the time of the Fifth Crusade. She was at pains to discover, for each of the numerous feudal lordships represented among the French coins, whether the persons concerned had taken part in either crusade. Where she found evidence of participation—which she did for most of the mints—the trend of her argument was that the coins in question had probably been brought to the East by the persons who issued them or by someone in their immediate family or entourage, to finance the expedition.[3] Metcalf has discussed the various contributory factors to the balance of payments in the Crusader states, and has suggested that the large numbers of pilgrims were mainly responsible for the monetary surplus.[4] These two explanations are not, of course, mutually exclusive.

It is a major aspect of the evidence, requiring explanation, that so high a proportion of the finds are French. Coins from other countries turn up—from Sicily, Spain, and Portugal, and occasionally even the Low Countries and Britain. But the scarcity of Italian coins, the virtual absence of German coins, and the preponderance of French coins over all others are problematic. German crusaders were relatively few, but there must have been a good number of German pilgrims. Italian merchants may have conducted their trade by means of credit facilities to a greater extent than the French. But overall, the French coins must reflect a balance of payments surplus—perhaps specifically with France.

Progress in understanding the facts ought to be forthcoming from the coins themselves, if only they could be dated closely. A sudden influx of money of the 1180s ought to show up in finds that are stylistically compact, or even from a restricted range of dies, whereas a year-by-year trickle brought in by individual pilgrims might be expected to be more varied. The coins are in many cases of *types immobilisés*, and it will be a major numismatic task to assess their historical significance. Their detailed classification is the necessary first step.

A hoard such as that from Tripoli, or Kessab, does at least present a body of material with a *terminus post quem* which can be estimated with confidence. Stray finds must await the work of classification before their full value as evidence is released.

The French coins catalogued below are nearly all from one early-thirteenth century hoard acquired by Professor Stewart from the Lebanon, possibly in about 1950.[5] Alongside 6 coins of Lucca, 46 of the Latin Kingdom, 1 of Damietta, 8 of Tripoli, 13 of Antioch, and 5 of Cyprus, there were about 100 foreign coins. (One can never, of course, be quite certain with material reaching the market in this way

[3] D. H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard* (New York, 1933), p. 29.

[4] D. M. Metcalf, 'The Templars as bankers and monetary transfers between West and East in the twelfth century', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 1–17.

[5] Stewart collection, typescript list, section 'Crusader', nos. 1044–240.

that a hoard has not been salted with remnants from the bottom of a dealer's cartons.) The selection made from these for the Ashmolean's trays was intended to reflect the range of style among the coins.

The hoard included the following: *Anjou*, 24 specimens, nearly all of the group reading ANDEGAVS.[6] *Provins*, 4 older coins of Henry I, with solid initial cross, and 13 of the later variety, plus one coin of Thibaut IV. *Troyes*, 2 of the older variety and 9 of the later. *Meaux*, 5 coins of Stephen. *Le Puy*, 9 coins, all much the same in style. *Normandy*, 5 coins. *Gien*, 2 coins. *Tours*, 16 coins.

17. CYPRUS: TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GROS (*c.*1290)

WHITE BEZANTS

The standard coin in thirteenth-century Cyprus was a base or 'white' gold piece of scyphate fabric, entirely Byzantine in its iconography. It stood in the tradition of the Comnenian electrum third-hyperpyra, which had contained originally about 8 carats of fine gold, and had weighed about 4·4 g.[1] Pegolotti tells us that the Latin coins weighed 22 Cypriot carats, of which $3\frac{3}{4}$ carats were gold, $4\frac{1}{4}$ were copper, and 14 were silver.[2] In fact they weigh around 3·78–3·80 g, rather than 3·89 g (22 carats).[3] Pegolotti is an unofficial and rather a late source, and, as he refers elsewhere to *bisanti d'oro copoluti di Cipri a carati 4*, one wonders whether the alloy standard might not have been fixed originally on the 24-carat scale as 4 parts of gold, 5 of copper, and 15 of silver. Analysis of over twenty specimens has shown that the alloy remained very consistent.[4]

The bezants, particularly the early ones, are scarce today, and until two or three sizeable hoards have been rescued for study, and a die corpus written, we can have no accurate idea of the scale on which they were issued. The series begins in the name of Guy, lord of Cyprus (1192–4), with rare coins reading REX GVIDO DE CIPRO (i.e. naming Guy as king of Jerusalem).[5] Similar coins with a backless throne, and on which the ruler wears a chlamys, were struck also by Hugh I (1205–18), with the

[6] On the classification of this type, and its occurrence in the Latin East, see D. M. Metcalf, 'Some hoards and stray finds from the Latin East', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 139–52, at p. 145, n. 19.

[1] M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261* (Washington, DC, 1969), pp. 10–13. For an average weight (4·50 g), see M. D. O'Hara, 'A hoard of electrum trachea of Alexius III', *NC*[7] 17 (1977), 186–8. Isaac Comnenus, usurper in Cyprus, 1184–91, struck electrum trachea: Hendy, op. cit., pp. 136–42. For the Nicosia hoard, from the time of Manuel I, see ibid., pp. 371 f.

[2] As well as Schlumberger, see C. Desimoni, 'Observations sur les monnaies, les poids et les mesures cités dans les actes du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto', *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895), 1–25, A. Evans, *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 82, and J. Richard, 'Système monétaire et système de mesures', in *Chypre sous les Lusignans. Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)* (1962), pp. 16–21.

[3] D. M. Metcalf, 'The gros grand and the gros petit of Henry II of Cyprus. Part 1', *NC* 142 (1982), 83–100, at pp. 90 f.

[4] Analyses undertaken by Professor A. A. Gordus for Mr A. J. Seltman ran into problems of calibration, but were tightly clustered. No coin of Guy has been analysed, but the sample (I believe) included three specimens of Hugh I's early type.

[5] F. Warren, 'Notes on coins found in Cyprus', *NC*[3] 11 (1891), 140–51, at pp. 148 f.; G. Schlumberger, 'Besant du roi Guy de Lusignan, roi de Chypre', *RN*[4] 9 (1905), 358 (a second specimen); J. Slocum, *A Check List of the Coins of Medieval Cyprus (1192–1570)* (unpublished typescript for private circulation), ad loc., reporting that another specimen has surfaced recently.

FIG. 17. Types 1a (*top row*), 2, 3a, 3a, 3b (*middle row*), 4a, 4b/1, 4b/2 (*bottom row*).

legend hVGO RЄX CYPRI.[6] No bezants of Aimery, the first king of Cyprus (lord, 1194–7, king, 1197–1205) have turned up, nor have any reading hVGONIS RЄGIS, such as might belong to the regency of Gautier of Montbéliard (1205–10). It is possible, therefore, that after an initial small issue produced for prestige purposes (the bezants are often found pierced and gilt) there was a gap of fifteen or twenty years. But when Guy's coins are so scarce, one cannot be quite certain that new types may not still be found.

All the remaining varieties have a throne with a back and sides, and those of Hugh and Henry differ also in that they show the king wearing the loros. Their attribution as between Hugh I, Henry I (1218–53), Hugh II (1253–67), Hugh III (1267–84), and Henry II (1285–1324) is problematic, except that coins reading hЄNRICI in place of hЄNRICVS can be attributed to the years of Henry's minority (1218–32). Unless style is a misleading guide, it is unlikely that Hugh II or III struck bezants. If that is correct, the coins of John (1284–5) mark a renewal of the mint's activity after an interval of thirty years or more, with a new design, showing the king in a chlamys or cloak which hangs in a distinctive rounded fold.

The debatable coins reading simply h' RЄI D'IRLM Є D hIP (which must be after 1269) are of the same design as those of John, but of less careful workmanship. John's coins have a Latin legend, RЄX IRLM Є CYPR, whereas French was normal on the silver gros of Henry II. There are, moreover, two styles of perspective for the sides of the throne: one, rather awkward, in which the front posts are high, and which is found on coins of John and h'; the other, with low posts, found apparently only on bezants of h', and matching the throne on Henry's early gros. Although the coins with low posts are the neater of the h' bezants, this is the sort of detail that is unlikely to chop and change. Style therefore suggests that the bezants of h' belong to Henry II rather than Hugh III. On this reading of the numismatic evidence no precious-metal coins were struck from *c.*1250 until 1284; and the bezants may have continued in production for a time concurrently with the gros of Henry II.

The order (see Fig. 17) seems to be:

1a, 1b Chlamys. Backless throne. Guy; Hugh I.
2 Loros. Throne with back. Crescent on staff of cross. Hugh I (or Hugh II?).
3a, 3b Loros, with collar-piece visible.
3a, 1. hЄNRICI:R/ЄX. Bar on cross, and may have crescent to right. 2. RЄX, plain cross, three dots in field. 3b, hЄNRICVS. Double cross on globus. Henry I.
4a John. Rounded cloak. Face with curled hair, crown with fleurs. 'Awkward' sides to throne.
4b h'. 1. Similar, but of coarser workmanship (no field-mark, or field-mark cross). 2. Sides to throne as on early gros (field-mark hexafoil). Henry II?

DENIERS

The small change of Cyprus was for over a hundred years supplied mainly by billon deniers, which were minted from the 1190s until some time in the reign of Henry II. Pegolotti tells us that they were 2½ ounces fine silver (nominally 20·8 per cent, in practice 20·4 per cent silver or less) and were struck at 36*s.* to the pound, and

[6] D. M. Metcalf and P. J. Willis, 'Crusader coins in the Museum of the Order of St. John, at Clerkenwell', *NC*[7] 19 (1979), 133–8, nos. 84–6.

reckoned at 4*s.* to the bezant (2*s.* to the gros grand). The weight corresponds very closely with the observed average weight for coins of Guy and Hugh I in the Tripoli hoard (0·77 and 0·76 g respectively).[7] Specimens assayed for Miss Cox averaged 20·3 and 21·2 per cent silver for the same two reigns.[8] These figures may be a little higher than the original alloy, because of the effects of corrosion.

What is probably the very first Latin denier of Cyprus is a scarce issue of Guy, with an eight-pointed star as its principal type (Fig. 18).[9] Its alloy is uncertain: it may

FIG. 18

have been struck both in copper and billon,[10] and its bad reputation would then explain the subsequent change of design, and its complete absence from the Tripoli hoard.

There is exceptionally full and useful information about all the other early issues of deniers, up to *c.*1218, as there were more than 800 specimens in the Tripoli hoard.[11] Of these, 188 were in the name of Guy, 11 from the same period were anonymous, 63 were from Hugh's minority, and 570 were from the later part of Hugh's reign. As there were no coins naming Aimery, among so many, it is reasonably safe to conclude that none were ever struck. Miss Cox advanced the interesting idea that there were more coins of Guy in the hoard than should be expected from his two-year lordship, and that Aimery probably continued to strike in Guy's name.[12] In an age of *types immobilisés*, this need not surprise us. From the reign of Hugh I (1205–18), we find deniers reading VGONIS RЄ(*gis*), which may be assigned to Gautier's regency. From 1210 the deniers read REX hVGO, and then hVGO REX CYPRI. Of the latter version (Cox Classes III and IV) there are equal quantities in the hoard—248 and 252 specimens—with stars and with annulets respectively in the second and third quarters of the cross pattée. They may be the secret marks of two

[7] Richard, loc. cit. (n. 2 above); D. H. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard of French Seignorial and Crusader's Coins* (New York, 1933), p. 59.

[8] Cox, ibid. The two halves of the coins were assayed separately and an average taken. Beyond saying this, Miss Cox does not report the scientific details.

[9] Schlumberger, pl. 6, 2; cf. J. E. Fitzgerald, 'On a coin of Guy de Lusignan, king of Cyprus', *NC* 8 (1845–6), 197–206 and pl. 8, 1.

[10] Schlumberger says that it is of billon; Miss Cox, that it is of copper.

[11] This precious body of material deserves much fuller study than it has yet received. Mr Alan Stahl is at present organizing new studies of the Tripoli hoard.

[12] Ibid., pp. 31–7. The argument that Aimery would be sensitive about not being able to be named king on his coins is plausible enough, although if pride had been the main consideration, he would have struck some coins promptly enough in 1197. Miss Cox's uniformitarian argument about quantities is not so convincing: an initial issue of a new currency might be expected to be large, in order to launch the type successfully, and there might thereafter be little need to supplement the currency for a decade or so. Aimery sealed in lead at Nicosia, initially as AIMERICVS DE LIZINIACO then as AIMERICVS REX CIPRI—H. E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrenstaaten* (Bayerische Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abh. NF 83) (Munich, 1978).

workshops of the mint. Whether the wide variety of annulets and dots in the legends of earlier varieties have any significance is doubtful, but the question needs to be studied afresh from the coins themselves.[13] The latest Cypriot deniers in the hoard are presumably much more fully represented than the earlier types.

The deniers of Henry I also include varieties with reversed legends (although with HENRICVS in the nominative) which may date from the years of regency, 1218–32. In default of a large hoard comparable with that from Tripoli there is as yet much less scope for analysing and classifying them.

There seem not to be any deniers in the name of Hugh, of varieties unrepresented in the Tripoli hoard (*terminus post quem* before 1230), which could therefore belong to Hugh II. If the mint was active in his reign—which appears unlikely—it might have struck deniers still in Henry's name, as a *type immobilisé*. But as it seems that there are no bezants of Hugh II, perhaps there are no deniers either.

A recoinage took place at some date after 1269, in which all the old deniers were reminted to a new design, on somewhat smaller flans and to a slightly lower weight standard. They give Hugh III[14] his title as king of Jerusalem: HVGVE REI DE IRL'ME D' CHIPR. A small proportion have a dot in one quarter of the reverse. This might be an officina mark or even a mint-mark, but its significance is as yet unclear.

Henry II continued the issue of the same type. There is a rather stronger case for thinking that he may have struck deniers at two mints, one with N in HENRICVS, and a plain cross pattée, and the other with Π and a cross with a dot in each of the four quarters. There is a third, rare variety, with a star in the second quarter. One wonders, in view of the attributions proposed for Henry's gros,[15] whether it might be from a minor mint.

No deniers are known of Amaury (1306–10).

COPPER COINS

Although there are copper coins from thirteenth-century Cyprus, it is doubtful to what extent they were issued in quantity as oboles (as at Tripoli and Antioch), to supplement the deniers. Those showing the facing, crowned head of Henry in particular are large, heavy, and quite handsome coins, which may have been produced for some ceremonial purpose in the 1230s. The coins on which the word REX is written across the façade of an elaborate gateway form a stylistically more varied series—varying widely also in weight and size—and may have been struck over a period of years. Neither type was found in the Curium excavations.[16]

[13] Style, flan size, metrology, die-linkage: a full analysis of the evidence is bound to be of interest.

[14] These deniers have traditionally been attributed to Hugh IV. Their worn condition in the St. Hilarion Castle hoard shows beyond doubt that they belong to Hugh III. See D. M. Metcalf, 'The St. Hilarion Castle hoard', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 27/29 (1973–5), 81–3.

[15] S. A. Georgiades and A. G. Pitsillides, 'Three unpublished Crusader coins of Cyprus', *NR* 7 (1976), 17–19 describes and illustrates both known specimens.

[16] D. H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932–1953* (New York, 1959), p. 83. There is one coin of Guy, one of Hugh IV (*rectè* III), three of Henry II, and a score of later coins. There is also a *Baldvinus* obole. At sites such as Antioch, Athens, and Corinth, where billon deniers and copper fractions circulated, the deniers are very decisively outnumbered among the stray losses.

A rare copper coin from the minority of Henry I is problematic, because it is of the same design as his deniers. Had it been intended as an obole,[17] it would have opened the door to fraud and dispute.

18. CYPRUS: THE PERIOD OF THE GROS

HENRY II, 1285–1324

Henry II, at a date in the late thirteenth century, began the changeover from base gold to silver as the standard coinage of Cyprus, by the introduction of two new denominations, the gros grand and its half, the gros petit.[1] The gros weighed about 4·7 g. It was replaced, rather later in Henry's reign, by another series of gros grands and gros petits of a different design and a lower weight-standard—about 4·50 g. Henry's coinage was interrupted by two other series bearing the name of his usurping brother Amaury. They are, again, of distinctive designs. The first has an average weight of about 4·5 g, while the second lies between 4·35 and 4·40 g. After Henry's restoration, the coinage reverted to a standard of 4·55 g, and thereafter remained stable for many decades. In this period of stability, the gros grand was a coin of two shillings or twenty-four deniers, and it was also tariffed at half a bezant. The billon deniers, which were still in use when the gros was introduced, had a lower intrinsic value, that is, twenty-four of them contained less pure silver in aggregate than one gros grand. Thus they became to some extent a fiduciary coinage. The early adjustments to the weight of the gros may have been intended to keep it in line with the bezant. Later, the bezant as a coin disappeared from the currency, but it continued to be used as a money of account, equal simply to two gros grands.

Henry II: heavy series. The obverse shows Henry seated on an elaborate throne with sides and back. On the reverse is the lion of Cyprus. The legend, in French, begins on the obverse and continues on to the reverse: hENRI· / ·REI: DE / +IERVSALEM E D' ChIPR'. Estimates of the numbers of reverse dies used suggest about 170 for the gros grands and 20 or 30 for the gros petits.

Amaury with Henry. At some date after he seized power, Amaury ordered a new coinage, with his name on the obverse, +AMALRIC' GUB'NATOR CIPRI, around the lion of Cyprus, and Henry's name on the reverse around the Cross of Jerusalem (Fig. 19). Some fifteen or twenty reverse dies may have been used. There are scarce gros petits.

Later, probably not until after Henry had been arrested and compelled to leave Cyprus in February 1310, Amaury struck a new coinage, which avoids any representation or mention of the king. On the obverse there are two circles of legend (thus reminiscent of the design of the gros tournois) around the lion of Cyprus: +AMALRIC' TIRENSIS DOMINUS / CIPRI GUB'NATO E RETOR. On the reverse is a

[17] Its high weight makes it unlikely that it was meant as a denier.

[1] This account summarizes the classification presented in D. M. Metcalf, 'The gros grand and the gros petit of Henry II of Cyprus', *NC* 142 (1982), 83–100, ibid. 143 (1983), 177–201.

dimidiated shield, combining the Cross of Jerusalem with the arms of Lusignan. Two varieties, with and without ornamental scrolls, may possibly be from two mints, at Nicosia and Famagusta. (The earlier issues, naming Henry, are presumably from Nicosia.) But both of Amaury's mints together used only a dozen reverse dies, and one or two each for gros petits.

FIG. 19

Henry II: light series. There are three main blocks. On the earlier coins, the king's cloak is fastened at the shoulder, and his knees are shown side by side. About half use the letter V in IERVSALEM and the other half, U. They have been tentatively attributed to two mints, again presumably Nicosia and Famagusta. The third block consists of coins with the cloak open, and the drapery falling away in folds from one knee. They nearly all have U in IERUSALEM.

The light series was issued on a substantial scale, with the use of an estimated 600 to 700 reverse dies, capable of producing probably six to seven million gros grands. In addition more than a hundred dies were used for gros petits.

The pattern of issues during Henry's reign has thus been sketched as:

Nicosia	*Famagusta*
Heavy series	
Light series:	
1A, cloak fastened, V	
Amaury with Henry	
Amaury (scrolls)	Amaury (plain)
Henry, 1A continued	1B, cloak fastened, U
	2, cloak open, mostly U

Field-marks, namely a spur rowel, ✱, ✢, F, cinquefoil, or three fleurs-de-lis, are sometimes added to the obverse. The mark ✱ is restricted to the later half of series 1A; about half the coins bear it, the other half being plain. The spur rowel is perhaps just a more elaborate version of the star; it is restricted to gros petits. The marks ✢, F, and cinquefoil are restricted to series 1B, and of these, F (for Famagusta?) and cinquefoil are early and scarce; roughly half the coins are marked ✢, and half are plain. The very scarce coins with three fleurs-de-lis are stylistically unrelated to the main blocks. As they appear to copy series 1 and then series 2, it is probable that they belong to neither but are from a third, minor, mint.

There are matching gros petits of all the varieties except three fleurs-de-lis.

Henry's deniers, described above,[2] would divide conveniently between two mints; and there is a third, very scarce, variety with a star in one quarter only of the cross.

LATER REIGNS

No serious classifications have yet been published for the gros of Henry's successors.[3] The varieties that have been noted in the legends, stops, and field-marks are listed in Schlumberger, but the logic of their relationship has still to be worked out. The volume of mint-output evidently dwindled after the second quarter of the fourteenth century—as is sufficiently demonstrated by the composition of hoards such as those from Limassol (no. 64 below) and Paralimni (no. 67); but again, the die studies from which the facts could be more exactly stated have still to be undertaken.

Hugh IV, 1324–59. A preliminary stylistic analysis of the gros from this thirty-five year reign suggests that the letter form U or V, in hUGUЄ/hVGVЄ and in IЄRUSALЄM/IЄRVSALЄM is no longer a major criterion, since there are mules and even die links.[4]

Tentatively one may identify two main blocks of coinage, the second of which includes a number of linked variants:

1. Normally with two lines at the neck. Letter R with coarse tail. All use V. The gros grands normally have a small cross between the feet. Field-marks: plain, or B with small annulet above, or C with small cross above.

2. Small (pierced) cross at throat. Letter R with fine tail. At first U (scarce), then V. Early gros grands have 3 small pierced crosses between feet, and/or REI DЄ‡ and/or ChIPRЄ‡. There are early (experimental) dies which read hUGU/ЄREID'. Fieldmarks: plain, then with B (occasionally with annulet above).

In each of these blocks, the stylistic treatment of the crown (whether or not detached from the head; flat or rounded base) may offer the possibility of dating the coins more narrowly.

3. Dies in inferior style reading hVGUЄ appear to be a regular issue.[5]

The construction of a corpus of dies, and the careful recording and comparison of hoards will be needed to test the validity of this provisional classification and to decide whether more than one mint was at work.

Peter I, 1359–69. Peter, who created the Order of the Sword, is shown on his coins holding a drawn sword. There are two series of gros, one of normal weight, and the other, which is very scarce, on a lighter weight-standard, perhaps that of the gigliati of Rhodes. The lighter coins have been found particularly in Turkey, and they may have been minted specially for use in parts of Armenia.[6]

The main series can be analysed stylistically in terms of its letter-forms, particularly the forms of the letter A, and arranged into a number of little blocks. Coins with a compact throne are probably early. The scarce dies with the field-mark I seem to stand to one side; and those with field-mark bird are stylistically not closely related to the unmarked coins. Again, a statistical comparison of hoards will be needed in order to advance our understanding. The number of obverse dies originally used is relatively small, and the spellings and letter-forms found on associated reverses are very variable. Die-analysis

[2] Section 17 above.

[3] The main varieties are listed in J. J. Slocum, *A Check List of the Coins of Medieval Cyprus (1192–1570)*.

[4] This is sufficiently demonstrated by the coins catalogued below.

[5] Cf. cat. no. 578 below, and I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, 'The Paralimni hoard of silver Lusignan coins', *NR* 8 (1977), 39–44, no. 18.

[6] A. J. Seltman, 'Light-weight coins of Peter I and Peter II of Cyprus', *NC*[7] 6 (1966), 235–40.

alone cannot therefore be expected to determine the correct place in the scheme of the scarce variants, such as those with field-mark cross, reading PAR LA GRACIA D' DIG.[7]

Peter II, 1369–82. Again, there are scarce light-weight gros as well as the regular issues. Among the latter, there are no varieties which could readily be attributed to Peter's minority (1369–72). Following the loss of Famagusta to the Genoese in 1373–4, copper coins were minted 'con le croce pontite'. Seltman has identified scarce copper deniers reading +PIERE ROI D / +IERUALEM, with dots in the angles of the cross, as matching the chronicler's description.[8]

James I, 1382–98. From the last quarter of the fourteenth century onwards, the silver coins of Cyprus are extremely scarce. The Stavrokono hoard is the major source.[9] James struck gros grands and gros petits of little artistic merit, and billon deniers which are more plentiful.

Janus, 1398–1432. Janus continued the same three denominations, and added a fourth, the sixain, or coin of six deniers. The sixains, of poor billon, were badly received, and Janus was obliged to recall them. Dolley has suggested that some anonymous deniers should be attributed to this reign.[10]

John II, 1432–58. The rare gros grands of John II include an attempted restoration of the type minted by Peter II. These coins include his Armenian title.[11]

Charlotte, 1458–, and Louis of Savoy, 1459–60. The rare gros grands and gros petits of Charlotte replace the traditional throned figure on the obverse with a crowned shield. Those of Louis are of the normal type. There is a sixain of Louis.

FIG. 20

James II, 1460–73. James, who recovered Famagusta in 1464, struck handsome gros on which he is shown on horseback, in the Italian manner. He also struck a gros petit with a profile portrait in Renaissance style (Fig. 20), and (perhaps for his coronation) a gros of traditional design, imitating those of Peter I with drawn

[7] S. A. Georgiades and A. G. Pitsillides, 'Three unpublished Crusader coins of Cyprus', *NR* 7 (1976), 17–19; A. G. Pitsillides, 'Two more gros of Peter I of the "Gracia" type', ibid. 8 (1977), 49; id., 'Observations on some coins of Peter I Lusignan king of Cyprus, 1359–1369', ibid. 11 (1980), 78–80; id., 'An unpublished commemorative coin of Peter I Lusignan king of Cyprus', ibid., 87–91.

[8] A. J. Seltman, 'A copper coinage of Peter II of Cyprus', *NCirc.* 76 (1968), 37.

[9] The hoard was acquired by Professor Stewart, and has been studied by A. J. Seltman. I understand that an account of it is to be published shortly in a posthumous *Introduction to the Coinage of Lusignan Cyprus* by Stewart. As the Oxford collection includes very few specimens of fifteenth-century Cypriot coinage, I have not attempted to discuss the series in detail. Readers are referred to Schlumberger, Slocum, and the forthcoming work by Stewart.

[10] R. H. M. Dolley, 'A presumed hoard of Lusignan deniers from Cyprus', *NC*[6] 13 (1953), 158–61. The coins in question read + S DE CHIPRE / +S. DE IERVSALEM or vice versa.

[11] See below, cat. no. 615.

sword, on which he is described as the twentieth king of Jerusalem (DЄI GRĀCIĀ XX RЄX hIЄRVSĀLЄM CIPRI Є D'ĀRMЄNIĀ).[12]

Catherine Cornaro, 1472–89. Catherine struck gros of the traditional design, on which she is shown crowned and veiled, and with the legend ✠KATERINA: VENETA: REGINA: (Fig. 21).

FIG. 21

THE GENOESE OCCUPATION OF FAMAGUSTA

The needs of Famagusta for small change during the Genoese occupation (1373–1464) were supplied by coppers of the 'gateway' type, with the legends DVX·IĀNVЄ/CIVI·FĀMĀG.

19. THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The Latin rulers of Constantinople issued vast quantities of base billon coins which were anonymous and purely Byzantine in character.[1] The handsome seals of the Latin emperors are in western style, and quite explicit about names and titles; but the coins, belonging essentially to the first twenty years or so of Latin rule, are mute, miserable objects. They are trachea, of scyphate fabric, even more debased than those which had flooded the Empire from the 1180s onwards. They dominated the currency of a very wide area from the Black Sea hinterland to central Greece, and even as far as Dubrovnik. Throughout Romania they were supplemented by much smaller quantities of similar coins issued by the Emperor in Nicaea, and (later) by the Bulgarian emperors and by the Byzantine rulers of Thessalonica.

In the 1230s and 1240s the issue of trachea dwindled or ceased at Constantinople (although the coins continued to circulate); but the Latins were evidently able to strike a certain amount of gold. Again, it was anonymous, being very exactly copied from the gold hyperpyra of John III of Nicaea.[2] As regards quantities, the position

[12] Slocum, op. cit., based on nos. 1379–82 in the MS. listing of the Stewart collection. Slocum offers some comments on how James calculated that he was the twentieth king of Jerusalem. S. A. Georgiades, 'An unpublished gros of James II', *NCirc.* 83 (1975), 148; and cf. a misattributed specimen in *NC*[3] 12 (1892), pl. 17, 11. Note that John II had described himself as the nineteenth king.

[1] The subject has a prehistory of varied errors, going back as far as Schlumberger, and not rehearsed here. The credit for reaching the correct solution belongs to M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Washington, 1969), pp. 191–222.

[2] Hendy, op. cit., pp. 246–56; D. M. Metcalf, 'The Agrinion hoard. Gold hyperpyra of John III Vatatzes', *NC*[7] 20 (1980), 113–31, at pp. 127–8.

was now apparently reversed: the Latin coins were only a minor supplement to an essentially Nicene currency, with which they mingled.

It follows from the anonymity of the Latin coins, their rough style, and their wide circulation that numismatists are faced with severe problems in attributing them. Hendy has attempted to divide them between Constantinople and Thessalonica,[3] as being the traditional (twelfth-century) mints, and the seats of the two Latin rulers who might be expected to have exercised regalian rights. There need at least be no doubt that the trachea are Latin, for they can be dated reasonably closely, from their first appearance in hoards. But their attribution to particular mints would demand lavish amounts of hoard-evidence to establish any residual tendency of the coins to be localized in their distribution, and even then the scheme would contain an element of conjecture, relying in the end on common-sense assumptions about who might have issued coins and where they are likely to have done so.

GOLD HYPERPYRA

It would seem that virtually no gold coins were struck in the Byzantine world in the twenty years following the Fourth Crusade, perhaps because of a dearth of precious metal. There is, however, one contrary piece of evidence. In a treaty between Nicaea and the Venetian *podestà*, it was agreed that neither should imitate the other's coins: '*Conventum est inter hoc, quod nec Imperium meum, neque tuus dispotatus habeat licentiam formare yperperos, vel manuelatos, aut stamena equalis forme alterius partis.*' The treaty was renewed in 1219, and may date originally from 1214.[4] It refers to Byzantine-style gold hyperpyra, electrum thirds, and billon trachea.[5] Yet it is unlikely that Theodore I ever struck hyperpyra,[6] for otherwise they would be represented in the hoards.[7]

In sharp contrast with the dearth of the first twenty years, John III (1222–54) was able, during much of his reign, to strike hyperpyra plentifully. His coins were exactly copied, in every detail, by the Latins. Both Greek and Latin series were around 16 or 17 carats fine[8] (i.e. marginally better than two-thirds gold). It is fortunate, in view of what has been said above, that we have documentary evidence for the Latin gold coins matching those of John III.

Pegolotti, in his *Pratica della mercatura*, describes 'Latin gold perperi' and 'common gold perperi', drawing attention to the sigla or field-marks on the obverse by which they can be told apart. Although he does not say that the former were minted in Constantinople (rather than in Greece, for example), it is a reasonable assumption that they were. He says that they have a group of four or three dots added as a siglum on the left above the throne.[9] Pegolotti's list seems to have been compiled in the 1280s, and the varieties of John's hyperpyra with which he was acquainted are likely to have been those struck late in the reign. A stylistic group of coins from earlier in the reign, in the Agrinion hoard, has been tentatively

[3] Hendy, op. cit.

[4] S. Brezeanu, 'Le premier traité économique entre Venise et Nicée', *Revue des Etudes Sud-est Européennes*, 12 (1974), 143–6.

[5] Hendy, op. cit., pp. 224–6.

[6] The unique coin which Hendy attributed to Theodore, op. cit., pp. 235 f., he would now, I understand, regard as a forgery of an earlier date.

[7] Even if of a higher fineness. There are a good number of twelfth-century issues in, for example, the Agrinion hoard (n. 2 above).

[8] The analytical evidence (Hendy, op. cit., p. 12) should be preferred to Pachymeres' statement that they were 16 carats fine.

[9] Discussed in detail in Hendy, op. cit., pp. 246–56.

distinguished as Latin from its lower weight-standard, compact distribution of weights around the average, taller outline of flan, the arrangement of two small crosses on the breast of the Mother of God, and the elongated figure of the emperor, with an irregular pattern of dots ornamenting his loros.[10] A detailed analysis of several more hoards of hyperpyra, from various regions of the Aegean and Black Sea hinterlands, will be needed before the attribution of particular varieties to the Latin Empire can be regarded as certain.

From the evidence of the Agrinion hoard and from what Pegolotti tells us, one may guess that there were relatively few Latin perperi compared with those of Nicaea, puzzling as this might appear in commercial terms. Certainly all the varieties mingled in circulation; and differences in the weights of individual coins were unimportant because payments were no doubt settled by weight rather than by tale.[11] Pegolotti mentions minor differences in the gold contents between the varieties ($16\frac{3}{4}$, $16\frac{2}{3}$, $16\frac{1}{2}$ carats). The discrepancies are so trifling (assuming that the information is reliable) that the coins would no doubt all have been accepted at par by anyone except perhaps a bullion dealer exporting gold.

BASE BILLON TRACHEA

Nicetas Choniates tells us that the Latins melted down statues from the hippodrome to make coins.[12] This story clearly implies that Constantinople was known to have been a mint for bronze coins under the Latin Empire. But of the numerous trachea that have been chemically analysed, none was found to contain the substantial amounts of tin that might be expected to be present in the metal of statues. On the other hand, they all had minor amounts of tin—and of silver—in their alloy (as had the different types of trachea struck before 1204).[13] This degree of technological continuity suggests that the Latin coins, too, were issued as trachea, to users who would have been all too familiar with the denomination. The stamena of the treaty of 1219 are the same coins under their Latin name.

The numismatist is confronted by hoard evidence for an extraordinary range of different types of imitative trachea, nearly all minted within twenty or at most thirty years of 1204. Each type occurs in two or more different modules, on different weight-standards.[14] The full-size coins were soon outnumbered, and Bulgaria and Greece were flooded with great quantities of half-size coinage of an exceptionally poor quality.[15]

As their legends are meaningless or non-existent, a classification of the varieties has to rest primarily on the hoard-evidence. Hendy has shown how his type A is the first to appear in the hoards, and he dates it before the introduction of coins of Theodore I, which he thinks are unlikely to have been struck before Theodore's

[10] Metcalf, loc. cit., where a maximum of 21 coins out of 232 are provisionally identified as Latin issues.

[11] As Pegolotti tells us for a slightly later period. See D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 820–1396* (1979), p. 279.

[12] A. Cutler, 'The *De Signis* of Nicetas Choniates. A reappraisal', *American Journal of Archaeology* 72 (1968), 113–18; Hendy, op. cit., p. 206.

[13] D. M. Metcalf, 'Silver and tin in the Byzantine trachy coinages, ca.1160–1261', *RBN* 123 (1977), 107–31.

[14] This continues, for example, throughout types D–T. Many of the early types seem to occur in large, small, and even smaller sizes, the smallest pieces being fairly plentiful at Corinth.

[15] There is ample documentation in the hoard-lists in Hendy, op. cit.

coronation in 1208.[16] Hendy has classified three types as Constantinopolitan (A, B, and C) and three as Thessalonican (again lettered A, B, and C). Roughly contemporary with these six, and hoarded in association with them, is a coinage of much the same kind (although rather better engraved) for Theodore. The seven are each matched by a small-module version of the same design (small-module types A–G), each struck presumably at the same date, but not necessarily at the same mint, as its larger equivalent. It is an assumption, not very firmly supported by the evidence, that the types were successive: Constantinople type A and small-module type A are clearly the first,[17] but the hoards do not establish a precise sequence for the remaining types. This is partly because some types are so scarce in the hoards that their absence from any but a very large hoard does not constitute good negative evidence.

The percentages of the fourteen issues in hoards from various regions of the Balkans and the Aegean coasts ought, one might have hoped, to reveal some degree of localization and to suggest which issues are from Constantinople and which from Thessalonica. But no candidates for attribution to Thessalonica are forthcoming, as a careful reading of the sample data in Table 1 will reveal.[18] The proportions in the

TABLE 1. *Percentages of Hendy's fourteen imitative varieties in selected hoards*

	Constantinople			Thessalonica			Theodore I	Small-module							Total coins
	A	B	C	A	B	C		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	
Early-thirteenth century hoards															
Kyustendil	22	—	—	—	—	—	2	76	—	—	—	—	—	—	45
Brestovo	21	—	—	—	—	—	1	78	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
Constantinople and its region															
Istanbul (B)	1	31	—	1	2	—	—	65	—	—	—	—	—	1	189
Yenimahalle	17	14	—	35	5	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150
Troad	3	77	—	—	6	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
Bulgaria															
Byaga (Maritsa valley)	9	1	0	1	1	—	1	62	4	2	6	4	3	5	344
Muglizh II (Balkan mts.)	5	0	—	1	1	0	1	75	4	—	3	5	0	5	3286
Lom (A) (Danube: west)	2	1	—	2	1	0	1	90	—	—	0	2	—	2	959
Logodash (Struma valley)	10	0	—	1	2	—	1	66	3	2	5	2	2	5	244
Thessalonica and environs															
Kolkhikon (early hd.)	45	—	—	—	—	—	2	52	—	—	—	—	—	—	44
Levkokhori (early hd.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98	—	—	—	—	—	2	759
Kozani III	4	—	—	6	2	—	—	75	—	—	6	4	—	2	265
Kozani IV	9	—	—	16	3	—	0	58	—	—	8	4	—	1	206
Aegean Islands															
Thira	13	1	—	40	21	—	22	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	111
Amorgos	18	—	—	64	9	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
Corinth site-finds, 1896–1939	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	67	9	0	13	4	4	2	91

[16] Ibid., pp. 201 and 230.

[17] Ibid., pp. 210–14.

[18] The hoards utilized in the table are published in Hendy, op. cit.; Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished Byzantine hoards'; and the author's unpublished notes on the Thira and Amorgos hoards and the Corinth site-finds (cf. D. M. Metcalf, 'The Peter and Paul hoard: Bulgarian and Latin imitative trachea in the time of Ivan Asen II', *NC*[7] 13 (1973), 144–72, at p. 146). Although the Istanbul B hoard was published as containing

Corinth site-finds, for example, match the Bulgarian evidence remarkably closely; and Hendy's 'Thessalonican' types are at their most plentiful in the Aegean islands and in the environs of Constantinople! The fact that they are rather more plentiful in southern Macedonia than in Bulgaria—as, for example, in the Kozani and Veroia hoards[19]—cannot override the evidence from Thira, Amorgos, Paros, and Yenimahalle.

Although the large-module coins were effectively driven out of use by the small ones (except for special purposes?—large-module coins continued to be made) the proportions of large and small in the hoards do not show a chronologically progressive shift: there are early hoards in which there are very few or even no large coins.[20] Another curiosity of the evidence is that although there are many hundreds of imitative trachea from Corinth, there are virtually none from the Athenian Agora excavations.[21] These features, and the fairly uniform mixture of small-module types over wide areas, have prompted the suggestion that the payment of mercenaries was a major use of the coinage.[22] One may add that the percentages of small-module coins in each hoard as a whole seem to make topographical sense in terms of regions that were or were not heavily fought over.

But where such uncertainty prevails, one should be ready to turn to the evidence of style, fabric, metrology, and metal contents, in the hope that they may clarify the archaeological evidence.

Style and fabric. 'Thessalonican' types A and B, with their matching small-module D and E, are closely related and are all obviously the work of a single mint. Nothing much else is obvious. Constantinople type C, with small-module C, perhaps belongs with the rest of the Constantinople imitative series, Types D to T, etc., for which a Bulgarian origin has been argued on grounds of its absence from the Corinth finds, its geographical distribution in north-eastern Bulgaria, early occurrence (in the Asenovgrad and Pazardzhik hoards), and alloy.[23] 'Thessalonican' type C is in another, and greatly superior, style. There is no positive reason to attribute it (with its matching small-module type F) to Thessalonica. Its fine quality, iconography, and in particular the large cross or lis above the throne on the obverse all suggest that it should be given to the empire of Nicaea[24]—but in any case excluded from the Latin series.

Metrology. A 3½-gramme standard used originally for Constantinople type A, and which survived in the (?) Bulgarian (D–T) series,[25] was soon reduced, perhaps to 2·8–2·9 g. But type B (which contains hardly any silver) averages 3·8 g in the Istanbul B hoard! The small-module coins of type A in the Levkokhori hoard averaged 1·62 g, and those in the 'Peter and Paul' hoard hint at early standards of *c.*1·8–1·9 g and possibly 2·3–2·4 g. Thereafter a standard of *c.*1·45 g was employed. The large 'Thessalonican' types A and B weigh about 2·5 g.[26] Small-module types D and E, on a preliminary assessment, show a correlation between the flan size and degree of elaboration of the dies, and the weight, i.e. they seem not to be on a single 'small-module' standard. The careful metrological study of a number of large

large-module coins of Constantinople type A there were in fact extremely few.

[19] And the small Neapolis hoard of 1964 (Touratsoglou, loc. cit.).

[20] Dates of deposit are difficult to judge, but hoards which still contain a high proportion of 'Bulgarian imitative' (reduced value) trachea are *prima facie* early.

[21] Metcalf, op. cit. (n. 11 above), p. 240.

[22] Ibid., pp. vii and 240–1.

[23] 'The Peter and Paul' hoard (n. 18 above). The list of provenances for types D–T can now be considerably extended.

[24] The idea that it might be a very early, pre-coronation Nicene issue (1204–8) must regretfully be abandoned. The alloy is too poor, and—scarce as the type is—it would have appeared in the hoards sooner. The only hard-edged piece of evidence is the type's occurrence in the Yenimahalle hoard.

[25] Metcalf, 'The Peter and Paul' hoard.

[26] e.g. in the Thira and Amorgos hoards.

hoards will be needed before much progress can be made, but research of that kind should in due course become a precise and therefore powerful tool for the interpretation of the coinage, and may serve to reveal complexities, e.g. the issue of small-module A may have been continued or resumed at dates well after other types had been introduced.

Alloy. Constantinople type A was the last issue to contain worth-while amounts of silver—*c*. 1·2 per cent, as compared with 2·2 per cent in all but the best of Alexius III's trachea. Small-module type A may originally have contained about 1 per cent of silver, but the issues soon fell towards about 0·5 per cent. Very few trachea of Theodore I contain as much as 1 per cent silver. This suggests that the debasement had occurred by *c*. 1210. Thereafter, throughout the imitative series, figures of around a quarter of 1 per cent are normal.[27]

Conclusions. Great quantities of trachea were minted by the Latins in the first twenty years or so after the Fourth Crusade, and it is a matter of common sense to attribute them as far as possible to Constantinople. Types A and B, together with small-module types A and B, make up by far the larger part (e.g. upwards of 70 per cent) of the imitative coins in almost every hoard. 'Thessalonican' types A and B, together with small-module types D and E, were evidently introduced a few years later. They appear from their style, fabric, overstriking, and metrology to be the work of a different mint, but a topographical analysis of the hoards, and in particular the composition of the Yenimahalle and Thira hoards, makes it very difficult to accept that Thessalonica was its location. Nor can it have been in central Greece. The only remaining option appears to be to place it in or near Constantinople. As the city was shared between the Latin Empire and Venice, might there not have been two mints in Constantinople?[28] This idea deserves consideration because it provides possible explanations for the Yenimahalle hoard, and for the Thira, Amorgos, and Paros hoards (the islands were Venetian). And Venetian activity in the Aegean area is probably a sufficient reason for the somewhat higher proportions of the types in question in Macedonia and at Corinth, than in Bulgaria.

The second quarter of the century. If there are any Constantinopolitan trachea from the years *c*.1225–61, they will lie among Types D–T (Hendy, pls. 26–7). The reasons for doubting, however, whether any of these are Latin, and for preferring an attribution to the Bulgarian Empire are: (i) their scarcity as stray finds from Istanbul, (ii) their widespread occurrence in central and north-eastern Bulgaria—at a time of hostile relations between the two empires, (iii) the impoverishment of the Latin Empire at this period, and (iv) their absence among the Corinth site-finds.[29]

TETARTERA

Of the thirteenth-century types which have been assigned to Constantinople (Hendy, pl. 27, 12–13) and Thessalonica (ibid., pl. 28, 11–14), the former seem to belong with Types D–T, and the latter with the hagioconstantinaton (Thessalonica Type C). One may therefore doubt, for the reasons offered in connection with the trachea, whether either is Latin.

[27] Metcalf, 'Silver and tin' (n. 13 above).

[28] Adumbrated in Hendy, op. cit., pp. 214 f.

[29] This summarizes the arguments in Metcalf, 'The Peter and Paul hoard' (n. 18 above). Many additional provenances under (ii) have since been published. Point (iv) is modified only by the Thebes hoard (no. 104 below).

20. THESSALONICA UNDER LATIN RULE

It is very doubtful whether any of the three pairs of types of Latin imitative trachea attributed by Hendy to Thessalonica was minted there.[1] The numismatic context in which it seemed appropriate that the mint should have been active in the early thirteenth century rested on the argument that it had been in the second half of the twelfth century, when it struck copper tetartera or half-tetartera.[2] This attribution, too, has been called into question.[3]

The evidence of numerous hoards makes it clear that Constantinople type A, with small-module type A, were the first Latin types to enter the currency of Macedonia, and that the large and small trachea of Theodore I were present in the second decade of the thirteenth century, as elsewhere.[4] As Latin rule was brought to an end in 1224, the scope for inserting any Latin imitative issues into a 'blind spot' not covered by the hoard evidence is limited. The presence of unusually large numbers of 'Thessalonican' types A and B, with small-module types D and E, in hoards such as those from Kozani[5] and Veroia[6] raises problems, but is best explained in terms of Venetian commercial activity in the region. Venetian grossi of P. Ziani (1205–29) and J. Tiepolo (1229–49) found in Thessaly offer some support for this interpretation.[7]

The formal possibility remains that Constantinople type A and (especially) small-module type A were struck both at Constantinople and at Thessalonica. To test this proposition would demand skilled stylistic analysis, and the application of the results to a good number of hoards from various regions, in order to compare the proportions of the stylistic sub-groups. It is a daunting numismatic task, in which virtually everything has still to be done.[8]

There is a rare variety of trachy for which a case can be made out that it is a Latin issue at Thessalonica. It is a copy of the standard type of Alexius III, on flans which are evenly and rather deeply rounded, and in a highly distinctive, sharply incised style of engraving. The details of the obverse type betray a cheerful ignorance of the finer points of Byzantine iconography. On an important coin, the benediction in the Greek manner (IC XC) is replaced by a conspicuously trinitarian gesture, and Christ wears a stiff, embroidered vestment.[9] On another coin he holds an akakia (symbol of mortality)![10]

[1] See the preceding section.

[2] M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine empire, 1081–1261* (Washington, 1969), p. 210.

[3] D. M. Metcalf, 'The tetarteron in the twelfth century', *NCirc.*, 86 (1978), 574–5.

[4] J. Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished Byzantine hoards of billon trachea from Greek Macedonia and Thrace', *Balkan Studies*, 14 (1973), 131–66; id., 'The Aiani/1973 hoard of billon trachea', *Arkheiologika Analekta ex Athenon*, 7 (1974), 433–5.

[5] Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished hoards'.

[6] T. Hackens, 'Un trésor byzantin à São Paulo', *Dédalo*, 2 (1965), 13–25.

[7] For the grossi, D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 820–1396* (1979), p. 265 and notes 10 and 11.

[8] The catalogue, below, has been arranged with the style of the coins in mind. The student will see that there are specimens of Turkish provenance which are very similar to others from Macedonia or Thessaly.

[9] D. M. Metcalf, 'Byzantine scyphate bronze coinage in Greece', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, 56 (1961), 42–63, no. 191. (By mistake, the plates of this article were published without numbering. The coin is illustrated on pl. 5, towards the bottom and on the left. It is almost square in outline.)

[10] See the catalogue below, no. 670.

The recorded provenances are Levkokhori (near Thessalonica),[11] a hoard said variously to be from Thessaly or Macedonia,[12] a hoard sold in Athens in the 1930s,[13] and the 'Peter and Paul' hoard.[14] Of these, the first three prescribe an early date for the introduction of the variety. It is extremely scarce at Corinth.[15] It has been noticed occasionally in Bulgarian hoards.[16]

21. FRANKISH GREECE: PETTY COINAGE

LATIN TRACHEA AND THE CONTINUED USE OF OLD BYZANTINE TETARTERA

Very soon after 1204 a flood of debased trachea began to be used in parts of central Greece—especially, perhaps, at Corinth. The types are the same as those found throughout the Latin Empire.[1] A precise stylistic and metrological analysis of the archaeological finds, which should help to show whether any of them were minted locally, remains to be undertaken. The trachea probably belong essentially to the currency of the first twenty years or so of Frankish rule.

Tetartera, the flat coppers of even lower face value, minted in the second half of the twelfth century, may have continued to circulate until about the middle of the thirteenth century. It is difficult to prove that any particular specimens or groups of finds from the thousands discovered at Athens and Corinth, and on a smaller scale at many other sites, are thirteenth-century losses. The probability, nevertheless, is that some are; and in hoards such as those from Brauron and from Corinth, July 1929, a *terminus post quem* after 1204 is demonstrable.[2]

FRANKISH COPPERS MINTED AT THEBES, CORINTH, AND ELSEWHERE

The Franks began to mint their own petty coinage (Fig. 22) at a date which is unlikely to have been before 1240 at Thebes, and perhaps *c.*1250 at Corinth. The Theban series continued until at least 1287, for it includes coins in the name of Guiot, the diminutive by which Guy II was familiarly known during his minority (1287–94). Other types which are signed merely G are difficult to attribute. The details of their legends vary from type to type; and it may eventually be possible to classify them better on the basis of their weights and metal contents. If they bear the title *Dux* they must be after *c.*1280. At Corinth there were two issues, one inscribed CORINTVM and the other CORINTI, and each accompanied by scarce halves. The CORINTVM coins appear to antedate the loss of Mistra to the Byzantines, and may belong to the 1250s; those with a Genoese gateway and CORINTI will then be from

[11] Metcalf, loc. cit. (n. 9), no. 1158 (pl. 5, towards the bottom and on the right).

[12] Ibid., no. 191, the same as Touratsoglou, loc. cit., illustrated as no. 5 on the plate.

[13] A. R. Bellinger, in *Greek and Byzantine Studies* 1 (1958), 163–71.

[14] D. M. Metcalf, 'The Peter and Paul hoard: Bulgarian and Latin imitative trachea in the time of Ivan Asen II', *NC*[7] 13 (1973), 144–72, pl. 8, 11.

[15] The only specimen I have noted is from the Odeion: 2 May 1927, no. 1372.

[16] Oral comment kindly offered by Mr Hendy.

[1] See the preceding sections.

[2] For a fuller presentation of the arguments, see D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 820–1396* (1979), pp. 239–43.

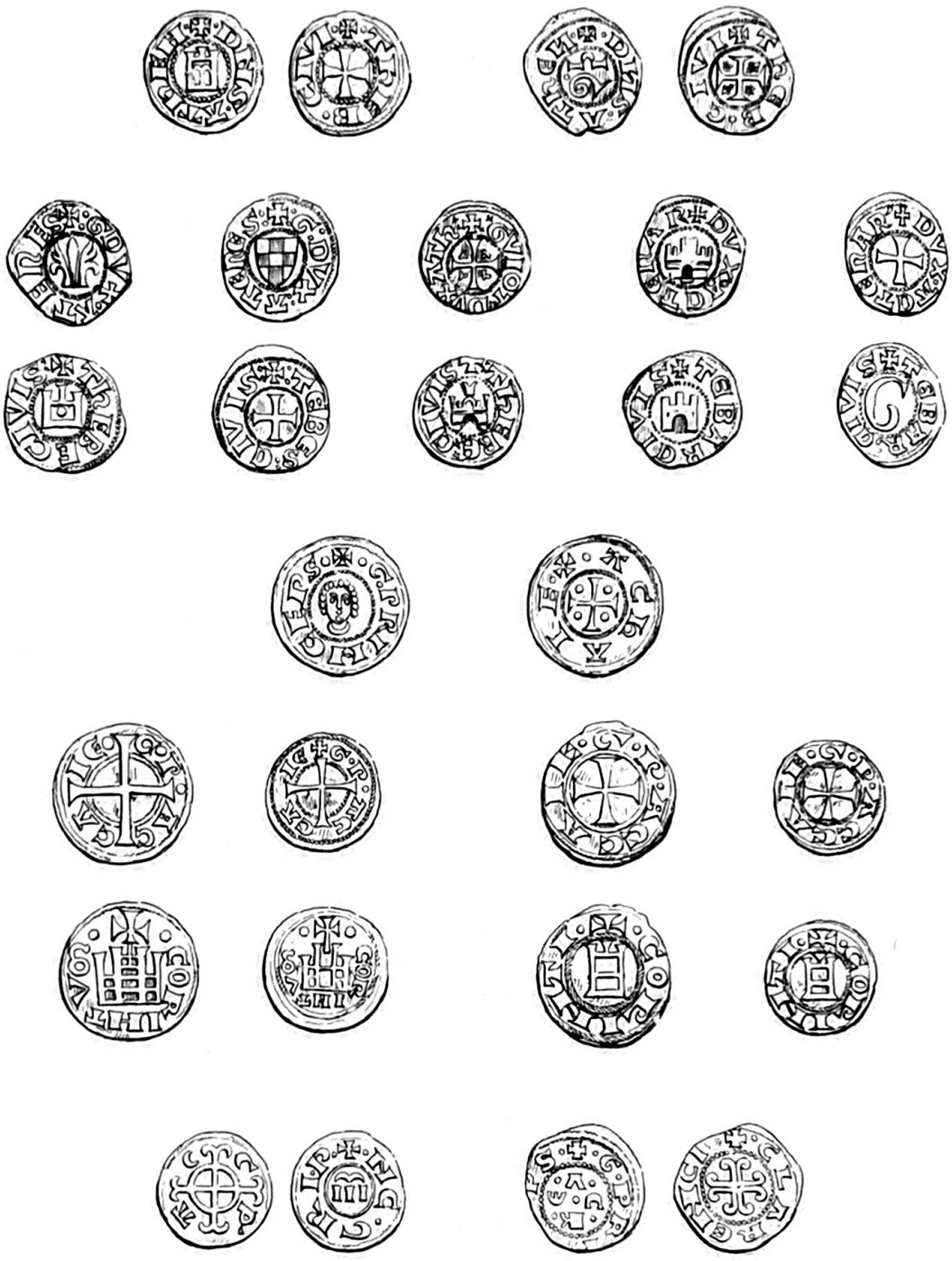


FIG. 22. Types 1–2 (*first row*), 3–7 (*second row*), 8 (*third row*), 9 and 10 with their oboles (*fourth row*), 11 and 12 (*bottom row*).

the 1260s and 1270s.[3] Again, a more detailed classification using style and metrology might be possible; but one can count on little if any help from the evidence of hoards.

The main sources of information about the Frankish coppers are the statistics of site-finds from Athens and Corinth (see the Table below). They show that at Corinth the petty currency was completely dominated by the local issues, whereas at Athens

TABLE. *Frankish copper coinages: statistics from Athens and Corinth*

Obverse/reverse types	*Schl., pl.*	*Athens*	*Corinth*
Thebes			
1. Genoese gate/cross, DNS ATHEN	12, 31	32	3
2. G/cross, DNS ATHEN	12, 30	20	0
3. Fleur-de-lis/Genoese gate, DVX ATENES	12, 32	61	5
4. Shield/cross, DVX ATENES	13, 1	20	5
5. Cross/castle, GVIOT DVX ATh	13, 8	97	1
6. Castle/tower, DVX ACTENAR'	13, 6	11	0
7. Cross/G, DVX ACTENAR'	13, 12 (and 11?)	15	0
Achaia			
8. Facing head/cross	12, 6	94	14
Corinth			
9. Cross/Acrocorinth, CORINTVM	12, 7–8	276	584
10. Cross/Genoese gate, CORINTI	12, 9–10	49	366
Negroponte			
11. Cross ancrée/III	13, 15	3	4
Clarentza			
12. AChE/Croix ancrée	20, 28	0	2

there was (over the thirteenth century as a whole) a higher proportion of Corinthian than Theban coppers. Type 8, which is ostensibly an Achaian type, is so scarce at Corinth and plentiful at Athens as to have prompted the suggestion that it was put into circulation at Athens in special (military?) circumstances in 1258–9.

Type 1 (which has been studied from a large hoard found just below the Areopagus at Athens, concealed *c.*1258) was struck from as many as 250–300 obverse dies, and so was evidently numbered in millions.[4] Yet it makes up only a modest proportion of the stray finds from Athens.

The scarce Negropontine coinage was probably struck to meet the requirements of the war of terzieri of Euboea, in the period 1255–9.

The coin minted at Clarentza (where Achaian deniers tournois were later produced) seems to be of a similar date. If we had as large a body of excavation material from Clarentza as from Corinth, the type might be far more plentiful than it is.

When the Frankish coppers were first produced, the supply of foreign deniers tournois in the currency may have been inadequate. In the later part of the thirteenth

[3] Ibid., pp. 243–7.

[4] D. M. Metcalf, 'Frankish petty currency from the Areopagus at Athens', *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 203–23.

century, however, copper and billon were undoubtedly in use concurrently. The rate of exchange between them is not known, but it is very clear that the coppers had a lower face value, for they dominate the stray losses from archaeological sites, but were on the other hand carefully excluded from the hoards of billon. It is because they were not hoarded that they are so scarce today except among the finds from Athens and Corinth.

22. FRANKISH GREECE: DENIERS TOURNOIS

IMPORTED FRENCH TOURNOIS

The abbatial issues of Saint-Martin of Tours, the royal coins of Philip II and Louis VIII and IX, and various feudal (post-1249) tournois have turned up regularly in Greece, and it has been argued that there was a period, from *c.*1225/35 onwards, when they were the standard coin of the Frankish states.[1] The royal coins were of a nominal weight of 1·12 g, and were 29·9 per cent fine silver. The stray finds from Corinth, which provide some statistical evidence for the early import of the tournois, and for their circulation there over a considerable period of time, cannot be individually dated; and the major hoards are from the third quarter of the thirteenth century (Corinth 1934, after 1253; Athens (Areopagus), 1255–9; Berbati, not earlier than *c.*1265).[2] The coins of Alphonse of Poitiers were suppressed in France in 1263, and quantities may have been shipped to Greece as a result. The Provençal tournois, including those of Charles of Anjou, may have been imported more readily after 1267, the date of the Treaty of Viterbo, which made Achaia an Angevin province.[3] The import of tournois continued, on a smaller scale, after local minting began, for there are coins of Philip III (1270–85), for example, in the Pylia hoard.[4]

ACHAIA

William of Villehardouin, 1246–78

Achaian issues of deniers tournois began, perhaps in 1262, with issues at Clarentza on very much the same weight-standard (*c.*1·10 g) as the French royal tournois already in circulation in the Morea. They read G·PRINCEPS, and the secret marks are a rosette on each side of the cross on the châtel (⊙+⊙), in combination with various obverse secret marks.[5]

By a monetary reform, probably consequent upon the Treaty of Viterbo, the weight-standard was reduced by 8 to 10 per cent, to bring the Achaian coinage into

[1] For a fuller account, see D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 820–1396* (1979), pp. 247–8.

[2] Ibid.; id., 'Frankish petty currency from the Areopagus at Athens', *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 202–23; id., 'The Berbati hoard, 1953: deniers tournois and sterlings from the Frankish Morea', *NC*[7] 14 (1974), 19–24.

[3] Id., 'The Berbati hoard, 1953'.

[4] Id., 'The Pylia hoard: deniers tournois of Frankish Greece', *ANSMN* 17 (1971), 173–227, at pp. 213–16.

[5] Information about the relative proportions of different secret marks, which is needed in order to distinguish between substantive varieties and mules, etc., is at present available mainly from the Pylia hoard, and the text follows the detailed information set out there.

line with the lighter issues of tournois on the Provençal standard (0·996 g). The lighter coins are distinguishable by their secret marks, normally stops (:),[6] sometimes with added crescents, on the reverse. They are about a quarter fine (thus better than the 2½ oz. standard of which Pegolotti speaks). William's heavy coins, which have not been analysed, may turn out to be of a better alloy than the rest.

The obverse legend was modified to read G·PRINCE ACh. There is no overlap in the series of secret marks used with the two legends. The later type normally has a small triangle on the reverse, in combination with a letter D or with dots.

There is still considerable scope for detailed stylistic analysis of the shape of the châtel tournois, and of the letter forms, to establish exactly how the style marches with the secret marks: the numismatist's task remains to be undertaken; and this is true throughout the entire series of deniers tournois from Frankish Greece. For some reigns the question will arise whether all the coins were in fact minted at Clarentza as their legend DE CLARENCIA (i.e. *Clarencianus*) implies. The French tournois, reading TVRONVS CIVI and variants, were struck at half-a-dozen mints—Bourges, Carcassonne, Mâcon, Paris, etc.—and those of the counts of Provence similarly at Avignon, Tarascon, and Saint-Rémi. If something similar were true of the Clarentza coinage, it would open up, in the long term, important opportunities of analysing the directions of monetary circulation in Greece. Among William's coins, the châtel may have either a wire triangle or a seriffed Λ as its gable, and the legends may use A or A. Details of this kind need to be understood before they can be reliably recorded. It is too soon to present a definitive list of the substantive varieties (and the same is true for the succeeding reigns), but they would seem to be:[7]

G 1 ⊙+⊙G·PRINCEPS / ⊙+⊙CLARENTIA
G 2 :+:G·PRINCEPS / ⊙+⊙CLARENTIA
or ·+· (Also variants with recumbent S, reversed N, barred A)
G 3 ·+· / :+: (Sometimes with N)
G 4 ·+· / :+: with crescents
G 5 ·+· / ·+·
G 11 :+:G:PRINCEACh / D+·CLARENTIA (barred A)
G 12 ·+G· / ·+·
G 13 ·+G· / ·+:
G 14 :+:G: / ·+·

Charles I and Charles II, 1278–85, 1285–9

Coins reading K.R.PRINC'ACh will belong to Charles I or II.

The reverse legend was changed from CLARENTIA to DE CLARENTIA, probably in 1281 when Charles I's chancellor, Gauthier of Collepierre, investigated the working of the Achaian mint and made certain reforms, rather than on the accession of Charles II. The new saltire stops (⁘) and the absolute regularity of the DE

[6] The evidence from the Pylia hoard is confirmed by the Panaghitsa Xirokhoriou hoard: see Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe* (n. 1 above), p. 249, n. 9.

[7] Mainly on the evidence of the Pylia hoard.

CLΛRЄNTIΛ issue point to its being in some sense a reformed coinage. It introduces the round (open) Є for the first time, and reverts to Λ. A provisional list of substantive varieties is:

K 1 +·KRPRINC'ACh/·+·CLΛRENTIΛ
K 2 ·+·K·R·PRINC'ΛCh/·+·CLΛRENTIΛ
K 3 ⁝+⁝K·R·PRINC'ΛCh/⁝+⁝CLΛRENTIΛ
K 11 +·K·R·PRINC'ΛCh/⁝+⁝DЄ⁝CLΛRЄNTIΛ

Florent, 1289–97

With the accession of Florent (FLORЄNS P:ΛCh) the reverse legend was changed again, to DЄ GLΛRЄNGIΛ. There is a marked deterioration in the quality of the die-sinking and striking. Schlumberger notes numerous varieties, but the Pylia hoard shows that three groups, with symbols that are distinctive to Florent's coinage, are far more plentiful than the rest. The form of the letter A is again diagnostic. It may be barred, unbarred, or with a characteristic horn-shaped serif. The G and Є are closed, except on the variety reading D'CLΛRЄNCIΛ—which raises quite acutely the question of the number of mints.

F 1 Barred Λ, ✱ on reverse. (Obverse begins variously +⁝, ·+·, ✱+, etc.)
F 2 Unbarred Λ. The secret mark at the end of the obverse legend is a spray with a bell-shaped flower, and at the end of the reverse, a nail.
F 3 Λ with horn-shaped serif, D'CLΛRЄNCIΛ.

The gable of the châtel varies consistently with the varieties. Less-plentiful varieties include one with the secret marks B+ lis (F 4), a mark which occurs also on the coins of Isabelle.

There are differences of average weight between the varieties, F 1 being distinctly heavier (but does this prove that it is earlier?). Florent's coins also show a small decline in fineness.

Isabelle, 1297–1301

It was either Florent or Isabelle who reduced the fineness of the Achaian tournois to the lower level set by the Athenian issues; and Isabelle in 1299 undertook a recoinage which swept away most of the 3 oz. coins. The careful analysis of a sufficient number of specimens with each variety of Florent's and Isabelle's secret-marks will be needed in order to be able to state more precisely what happened at the Achaian mint or mints, and one should not at this stage exclude the possibility that the details given in the *Registri Angioini* are incomplete or even misleading.

There are again three main series, all with obverse YSΛBЄLLΛ·P·ΛGh.

Y 1 Unbarred Λ. Angular G, Є, etc. Obverse with B+ lis, reverse I+.
Y 2 Barred Λ. Rounded G, Є, etc. Obverse with trefoils (·+·), reverse with stars.
Y 3 Unbarred Λ. Angular G, Є, etc. Obverse with leaf on stalk at beginning (or end) of legend, reverse with nail at end.

These three series account for 90 per cent of Isabelle's coins in the Pylia hoard, but there are a good many distinct variants and other secret marks, such as (with angular C, E) obverse C+* or obverse h+ lis.

Series Y 1 makes up 4 per cent of the Pylia hoard, but over 50 per cent of an unpublished hoard. This should make one consider whether coins were struck in Isabelle's name during the lifetime of Florent.

Philip of Savoy, 1301–7

The obverse now reads +PhS.D'SAB.P.AChE. A barred A and a rounded C and E (the style of Y 2) are standard. The varieties are

PS 1 Large cross or fleur-de-lis on each side of the reverse cross; five-pointed star beneath châtel.
PS 2 Fleurs-de-lis beside cross and beneath châtel, dot each side of châtel.
PS 3 Fleurs-de-lis beside cross, five-pointed star beneath châtel, dot to each side.

Philip of Taranto, 1307–13

There is much less stylistic variety, but some variation in the obverse legend, normally +PhS P. ACh.TAR.D.R. (*Despotes Romanie*). Most specimens (PT 1) have a barred A, round C and E, lis on each side of the cross and beneath the châtel, and a dot on each side of the châtel. A variant (PT 3) has E on each side of the châtel, and lacks D.R. on the obverse.

The reading D'CLAREINCIA reappears (PT 2), again with a horn-shaped serif (cf. F 3), and with lettering the general style of which differs from that on Philip's main coinage.

Louis of Burgundy, 1313–16; Ferdinand of Majorca, 1315–16

Louis's coins are extremely scarce, for what reason is not known. They read +LODOVIC.D'B'P.AChE (*de Burgundie*). Those of the young pretender Ferdinand, reading +IFANS·F·D'MAIOR'K (*infans Ferrandus*) are even more so.

Maud of Hainaut, 1316–21

The coins of Maud and her successors were struck in such a way that the metal flowed unevenly into the recesses of the dies. Stylistic analysis is made difficult, and no formal listing of varieties has been attempted here. Maud's coins, which read +MAhAVTA P.ACh include varieties with C to the left of the châtel and with an annulet to the left of the châtel (and after DE CLAREINCIA·). On the latter there may be the extra secret mark of a plant beneath the châtel.

John of Gravina, 1322–33

John's coins include varieties with M beneath the châtel and a dot or annulet on each side; with + beneath; with T beneath; and with a large dot beneath; and with dots in the second and third quarters of the obverse.

Robert of Taranto, 1333–64

Robert's tournois are scarce, in spite of there being a number of hoards from his reign. There were, however, 14 of his coins as against 68 of John in the Agrinion hoard of 1967.

ATHENS

William of La Roche, 1280–7

Although Thebes was a commercial centre of some importance, with a need for currency, the lords of Athens delayed following the Achaian example for some twenty years. When William, the first duke, began to strike tournois in the 1280s, he produced coins on the lower alloy-standard of *c.*21 per cent (probably 2½ oz. fine). Since the Athenian and the Achaian coins were virtually indistinguishable except by close inspection, this amounted to unfair competition, to say the least.

The earliest Athenian tournois are signed G·DVX and are virtually the only type present in the Xirokhori hoard. The origin of the series is thus proved to be later than the reign of John (1263–80). They all read ThEBE CIVIS but the occurrence of quite different styles among them raises the question whether there was in fact more than one mint. Stylistic analysis indicates three main series, namely:

A 1 With double annulet stops (⁘), square E, open C, châtel with broken annulets.

A 2 With dot or triangle stops, round Ɛ, châtel with unbroken annulets, ATEHIS. (Absent from Xirokhori.)

A 3 With trefoil stops, square E, distinctive versions of châtel with broken annulets, distinctive lettering and experimental readings such as G.DVX.DATENES/ ThEBES CIVIS.

Series A 3 continues into the next reign, with coins signed GVIOT DVX. A few of these gave the *terminus post quem* for the Xirokhori hoard. The series as a whole has been tentatively attributed to the bailies of the Morea.

A 4 There are scarce anonymous coins, which have been attributed to Guy's minority, reading

+DVX ACTENAR'/+TEBAR'CIVIS or
+-DVX·ATENES/+ThEBE:CIVIS or
⁘DVX·ATEИES/⁘ThEBE CIVIS

with a châtel with unbroken annulets like that of A 2. They have an open Є, and are from large dies, and if it were not for their absence from the Xirokhori hoard one would be tempted to consider them as being from early in duke William's reign, since they do not follow on convincingly from series A 2 as coins of Guy's minority. Analyses show, moreover, that the DVX ACTENAR' variety, and a scarce variant of it reading G·DVX ACTENAR' are of poor alloy (*c.*16 per cent). Their style and legends place severe obstacles in the way of a date later than 1308, and their attribution will remain debatable until the whole question of mint-attributions of the Athenian coinage has been resolved, through the publication of reliable hoard-reports.

A 5 Anonymous coins with a châtel with *broken* annulets and an open Є and reversed И, reading ⁝✝⁝DVX⁝ΛTЄИЄS/⁝✝⁝ThЄBЄ⁝CIVIS. They are otherwise identical with the third variety listed under A 4. Very closely related to them by style are coins reading ✝⁝G·DVX·ΛTЄИЄS.

A 6 Another group of anonymous coins has a similar châtel to A 4 but a closed Є. It reads ✝DVXΛTЄNЄS⁝/✝ThЄBΛ'CIVIS.

A 7 There is an easily recognized series characterized by six-petalled rosette stops, which link coins reading G and GVI. They have the distinctive angular D and closed Є, and the châtel with closed annulets, found on the rest of Guy's coins, and some combine G·DVX with the reverse reading ThЄBΛNI. The S in ΛTЄNЄS is also often distinctive.

A 8 A variety reading G·DVX and ThЄBЄ CIVIS is stylistically related to numerous varieties of the coinage of Guy II, in particular by the forms of the letters X and V. The limbs of the X are cut off tangentially, and the two halves of the V lack a foot.

Could any of these series be reattributed to Gauthier of Brienne (1309–11) rather than William? Or could any be deceptive, claiming to be Athenian when they are not? These are delicate and difficult questions, made more so by the scarcity of most of the problematic varieties: their absence from a hoard may not amount to very good negative evidence. For the present, all the numismatist can do is to emphasize the number of different links connecting coins with G and with GVI and to point to the technical improbability of all these styles being the successive products of a single workshop. One must hope that some further hoards concealed during the years *c.*1280–94 will come to light.

Guy II, 1287–1308

Guy's coins are far more uniform in style than those of William. They bear a range of stops, used apparently as secret marks, such as ⁝✝⁝/⁝✝⁝, ·✝·/·✝·, ·✝·/·✝·; ⁝✝⁝ on the obverse with spur rowel, or crescent, or 'ermine' stops on the reverse; or spur rowel beneath the châtel. On all these (A 8) the limbs of the letter X are cut off tangentially, usually with a fine serif, whereas in A 7 the limbs of the X are cut off horizontally, or are pointed.

EPIRUS: DESPOTS OF ROMANIA

Philip of Taranto, 1294–1313

Philip's mint of Lepanto (Naupactus) struck tournois containing only *c.*13 per cent silver. There are two varieties, and two styles of lettering. One reads ✝PhS P ΛCh TΛR D R (*Princeps Achaie, Tarenti, Despotes Romanie*), and the other ✝PhS.P.TΛR' DЄSP. It is problematic whether Philip would have used the Achaian title before 1307, although the presence of Epirote coins with P.ΛCh in the Delphi hoard of 1933 (*terminus post quem* 1301–5?) suggests that he did. On purely numismatic grounds, the coins fall differently into two series.

E 1 With round C and Є, open or nearly so; 'solid' V with serif at foot (as the Λ, reversed). The middle dot of the three in the châtel is larger.

(*a*) reading TΛR'D.R.. With lis beneath châtel. Secret marks usually include a lis before NЄPΛNTI CIVIS.

(*b*) reading DЄSP. Secret marks include, on obverse, two lis or lis + (?) leaf; on reverse × or ∘ before NЄPΛNTI CIVIS.

E 2 With characteristic angular closed Ȼ and Ȼ, and V with parallel gap between limbs, and open foot. Secret marks on reverse almost always include I before NȻPΛNTI. Variant with DȻSPO.

It is puzzling to know how to place E 1(*a*), E 1(*b*), and E 2 into a sequence, and one should be prepared to consider whether there might not have been two mints (one belonging to Thomas, lord of Salona?). The published hoard evidence is statistically insufficient, and it fails to distinguish between E 1(*b*) and E 2. Provisionally it points to a more easterly distribution for E 1.

MINOR MINTS[8]

Corfu

Philip of Taranto struck rare tournois in Corfu, possibly *c.*1295. They read +·PhVS·DЄI·GRΛCIΛ / CORFOI DOMINVS or +PhVS:DЄI:GRΛ: / CORFOI'·'DNS.

Salona

Thomas III of Stromoncourt, lord of Salona (Amfissa) from *c.*1294, struck rare deniers reading ⁘+⁘ThOMΛS / ⁘+⁘DЄL⁘LΛSOLΛ (Fig. 23). He was forbidden to do so

FIG. 23

by the duke of Athens, and sought permission in 1301 to transfer his minting activities to Lepanto.

Karitaina

Helen, dowager duchess of Athens, claimed the half-fief of Karitaina, and struck rare tournois (perhaps at Hosios Loukas, in the 1290s?) reading +hELENΛ·DIGRΛ / ȻLΛRIȻTIΛ S'F (*Semi-feudi*).

Neopatras

John II Angelus Comnenus (1303–18) struck tournois as Sebastocrator of Great Wallachia. The common variety, containing less than 10 per cent silver, reads

[8] For fuller accounts, see Schlumberger; Metcalf, op. cit. (n. 1 above), pp. 251–4. For a survey of the occurrence of the scarce types in hoards, see Metcalf, 'The currency of *deniers tournois*' at pp. 58 f.

+ΛNGELVS SΛB.C./DELLΛPΛTRΛ. A rare variety has reverse NEOPΛTRIE. Another rare variety, which may be later in date, reads +DVX·ΛNGELVS/ DELΛPΛTRIΛ.

Arta

John II Orsini, despot of Epirus (1303–35), struck tournois in some quantities at Arta. They read +IOhS.DESPOTVS/DEΛRTΛCΛSTRV.

Damala

A denier tournois reading, on both sides, CΛSTE DΛNΛLΛ (Fig. 24) has been attributed to Martin Zaccaria as lord of Veligosti and Damala (1325–45).

FIG. 24

Leucas

Charles I Tocco, duke of Leucas and count palatine of Zante and Cephalonia, after placing himself under the suzerainty of king Ladislaus of Naples in 1396, struck a denier tournois reading REX LADISLAVS/·+· IN (or DN) TOCChI (Fig. 25).

FIG. 25

COUNTERFEITS AND IMITATIONS

The *terminus ante quem* for the striking of a counterfeit is usefully established if it has a hoard provenance. Coins from the Pylia hoard illustrate the blundering of legends, the avoidance of the more difficult letters of the alphabet, the copying of secret marks, and the reversal of legends.

Copies of tournois of Guy II of Athens may belong to the Catalan or Florentine period.[9] They are made of pure copper. The best of them are of accomplished workmanship and style, although quite unlike anything minted before 1311. At the other extreme there are copies of deplorably crude work. Such pieces can only be studied effectively when their provenances are known.

[9] The standard account of them, with bibliography, is A. J. Seltman, 'Late deniers tournois of Frankish Greece', in *Mints, Dies and Currency. Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Albert Baldwin* (ed. R. A. G. Carson) (1971), pp. 319–23. Cf. the same writer's earlier essay, 'Two deniers of mediaeval Athens', *NCirc.* 69 (1961), 186.

23. CRETE AND THE ARCHIPELAGO

CRETE

There are very few hoards or site-finds on record from which one might form a view of the currency of Crete from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth. The Mylopotamos hoard, apparently containing Latin trachea, awaits study.[1] Schlumberger[2] remarks that very numerous blundered imitations of deniers tournois are found throughout the Venetian possessions in the Aegean area, and he interprets them as representing large-scale counterfeiting at various unofficial mints. Again, if any such imitations could be shown by their localization to be Cretan, a new chapter might be added to the monetary history of the Latin East. The topic remains untouched.

From 1353 Venice began to mint coins specially for use in its possessions in the Levant. These soldini and torneselli were shipped out to Coron and Modon, Negroponte, and Crete, where they are commonly found.[3]

LATIN LORDSHIPS IN THE ARCHIPELAGO

When the Archipelago fell to Venice, citizens of the Republic and of its allies were authorized to seize any islands or strongholds, and to be given hereditary title to them as Venetian fiefs, enjoying the rights of soverainty.[4] Of the families which established themselves in the Aegean area, very few struck coins, and then only in trifling quantities.

FIG. 26

Naxos

Nicholas Sanudo, duke of the Archipelago, of Naxos, and of Andros (*c.*1323–41), struck a copper or billon coinage (Fig. 26) which is excessively rare today.[5]

Tinos

The occurrence of a tournois of Tinos in the Delphi hoard of 1894 (B) suggests, although it does not entirely prove, that the type should be attributed to George I Ghisi (1303–11) rather than George II (1341–52). The coin (Fig. 27) reads +IORGIVS.GISI / ThInECCIVIS.[6]

[1] D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 820–1396* (1979), pp. 266 f. The Mylopotamos hoard is marked on the map in M. Caramessini-Oeconomides, 'Contribution à l'étude de la circulation des monnaies byzantines en Grèce au XIII^e siècle', *Actes du XV^e Congrès int. d'études Byzantines, Athènes, 1976*, ii (Athens, 1981), 121–8.

[2] Schlumberger, op. cit., pp. 356–7.

[3] Ibid., pp. 471–7; Metcalf, loc. cit.

[4] Schlumberger, pp. 392–407.

[5] Ibid., pp. 393–5.

[6] Ibid., pp. 398–400.

FIG. 27

CHIOS UNDER GENOESE LORDSHIP

In sharp contrast with the rest of the Aegean islands Chios struck gold and good silver coins throughout most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These no doubt reflect a steady inflow of Byzantine and Italian money from the sale of mastic, the resinous gum of which Chios had a near-monopoly.

FIG. 28

The Genoese[7] gained a foothold on Chios by the Treaty of Nymphaeum, 1261. In the fourteenth century, the Zaccaria held Chios from the Byzantine emperor. Palaeologus Zaccaria (1307–*c.*1314) struck an imitation Venetian grosso, on the weight-standard of the Byzantine basilicon, and with St. Isidore in place of St. Mark.[8] Martin and Benedict II Zaccaria, who ruled from *c.*1314, even struck gold coins—quarter-ducats on the Genoese standard, weighing *c.*0·9 g. They introduced slightly lighter silver grossi with the Cross of Jerusalem on the reverse, on which they describe themselves as SERVORVM INP(*er*)ATORIS (Fig. 28). There are corresponding half-grossi.[9] But they also struck grossi of the Venetian type, with an annulet secret-mark below the elbow.[10] As these were continued after the brothers had quarrelled and Benedict had left the island to the sole government of Martin, it would seem that the two kinds of grosso were in issue concurrently. Martin also struck tournois (Fig. 29), until the island returned to Byzantine control in 1329.

FIG. 29

Anonymous deniers tournois can also be attributed to the Zaccaria. The Sterea Ellas hoard of 1975 contained, among 847 coins, one of the excessively rare

[7] Ibid., pp. 408–31.

[8] G. Lunardi, *Le monete delle colonie genovesi* (Genoa, 1980), p. 179; Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Auction 30 (5 November 1965), lot 842.

[9] Lunardi, pp. 182–3; M. und M. 30, lot 843.

[10] Lunardi, p. 185; M. und M. 30, lots 844 (and 845).

tournois of Chios. The hoard is dated by coins of Louis of Burgundy and Ferdinand of Majorca, and by the absence of the plentiful coins of John of Gravina, which suggests a *terminus ante quem* soon after 1322.[11] The Chiote tournois read either DVX·IANVENSIVM or CVNRADVS REX, and CIVITAS·SIY or SII (Fig. 30).

FIG. 30

The Maona, a Genoese venture society, recovered Chios, and were granted the right in 1347 to strike coins of any design, weight, and alloy they chose, so long as they bore the standard Genoese legends, *Dux Ianuensium quem Deus protegat* and *Cunradus Rex Romanorum*. Their silver gigliati (which have been collected on Chios, at Smyrna, and thereabouts) were at first of a compact fabric and neat workmanship, but soon the flans became more spread and the workmanship deteriorated. The weight-standard falls somewhat below that of the Rhodian gigliati. There are also rare quarter-gigliati[12] (Fig. 31).

FIG. 31

The series of Chiote gold sequins of Venetian type is readily identifiable from *c.*1415, when they begin to name Tomasso Fregoso, with the legend T. DVX IANVE. Earlier coins in the names of the Venetian Doges A. Venier (1382–1400) and T. Mocenigo (1413–23) have been attributed to Chios from the fact that they were obtained in Smyrna at the same time as a coin of T. Fregoso. The group of three dots behind the banner which St. Mark holds have been interpreted as the secret mark of the Chios mint (Fig. 32). Later in the fourteenth century the coins were identified by a letter S—in contradistinction, no doubt, to the P added to the imitations made at Pera.

[11] I am indebted for this information to Mr Costos Hadziotis, who hopes to publish the hoard fully. Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 418.

[12] P. Grierson, 'Le *gillat* ou *carlin* de Naples-Provence: le rayonnement de son type monétaire', *Centenaire de la Société française de Numismatique, 1865–1965*, pp. 43–56; Schlumberger, op. cit., pp. 416–18. There were three Chiote gigliati in a hoard from the southern Sporades published in F. W. Hasluck, 'Contributions to the history of Levant currencies', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 19 (1912–13), 174–81. See also Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Auction 30 (5 November 1965), lots 846–8.

FIG. 32

For details of all the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century coins (which are not represented in this catalogue) the reader is referred to Lunardi's work.

LESBOS UNDER THE HOUSE OF GATTILUSIO

John V Palaeologos in 1355 gave Lesbos, with the hand of his sister, to the adventurer Francis Gattilusio in return for his help against John Cantacuzenos.

Francis (1355–76) evidently proceeded to strike imitations of the Venetian gold ducat, of inferior quality and variable weight. The Venetians protested vigorously, in 1357. The coins have not been found. Francis also struck a soldino, copying the obverse of the Venetian coin, and with the *Agnus Dei* as its reverse type.[13]

Copper coins were minted at Mytilene, Francis's seat of government, with the Gattilusio arms on the obverse, and the much-discussed Palaeologan emblem of four letters B (the *acciaiuolo* or *briquet*) on the reverse (Fig. 33).

FIG. 33

The rare specimens that read simply F.G.ƆOMINUS/METELINI: have been attributed to Francis I, while those setting out the name in full probably belong to Francis II.[14] They read FRANCISCUS.GATILUXIU/DOMINUS.METELINI·Z·D.

FIG. 34

James (1376–96) minted ducats, and also soldini or grossetti of the *Agnus Dei* type, half-grossetti, and coppers with a large letter Y (Fig. 34).[15]

The fifteenth-century coinage of the Gattilusio family is described by Lunardi.

[13] The coin is dated to Francis I rather than Francis II by a hoard-context: A. P. Tzamalis, 'Some new evidence of the coinage of the Gattilusii, lords of Lesbus', *NCirc.* 88 (1980), 2–4.

[14] Ibid.; M. und M. 30, lot 855.

[15] M. und M. 30, lots 856–7.

THE GENOESE ON RHODES

The Genoese pirate John Dello Cavo held Rhodes in fief from the Byzantine emperor from 1278, but had to share his possessions with Vignolo Vignoli. In 1282 Vignoli's nephews succeeded to Dello Cavo. A variety of small copper follari have been attributed to the Genoese in the period 1279–1307, on the grounds that they have been found on Rhodes and practically nowhere else.[16] They mostly bear the B of the Palaeologi, and a fuller knowledge of finds of copper coinage from Bulgarian archaeological excavations may in time modify the clause, 'and practically nowhere else'.

24. THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN AT RHODES

AN ATTEMPTED ISSUE OF THE TOURNOIS TYPE

The earliest, excessively rare coins of the masters of the Order of St. John are silver gros and half-gros of Fulk of Villaret (1305–17) and billon deniers probably of similar date (Fig. 35).[1] The reverse of the gros, which imitates the obverse of the French gros tournois, completes the inscription *Frater Fulcho de Villareto Dei*

FIG. 35

gratia/Magistro hospitalis Conventus sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani Rhodi. (The letters *Con* are represented by the orthographical sign ꝏ.) The obverse is occupied by the distinctive design, which had been used on the order's seals since the twelfth century, and which was to appear on the coins for the best part of two hundred years. The grand master kneels before the cross, which is in the 'patriarchal' form found on some anonymous coins from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.[2] The letters

[16] G. Lunardi, *Le monete delle colonie genovesi* (Genoa, 1980), pp. 147–68.

[1] The coins are described and discussed fully in Schlumberger, pp. 242 f. and 496. For the series as a whole one may consult either Schlumberger or E. H. Furse, *Mémoires numismatiques de l'Ordre souverain de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*, 2nd edn. (Rome, 1889). Furse is slightly fuller, but Schlumberger is a more convenient and accessible work of reference. Furse is largely derivative from Schlumberger and, so far as the Rhodian coins are concerned, has no additional claim to numismatic authority.

[2] See section 7 above, and cat. no. 123.

A and Ω are added, and IRL (*Ierusalem*) is repeated in the field. The symbol beneath the cross has been interpreted as a skull—with the implication that the iconography is that of Golgotha.[3] The gros illustrated in Fig. 35 was found in an early hoard of Rhodian gigliati at Ephesus. One of them weighed 3·95 g; and the half-gros weighs 1·97 g. The standard seems, therefore, to have been slightly less than that of the French coins.

RHODIAN GIGLIATI: THE PERIOD TO *c.*1490

No coins are known of Maurice of Pagnac (1317–19). The commercial importance in the Aegean area of the silver gigliati of the Angevin rulers of Naples may have encouraged Helion of Villeneuve (1319–46) to adopt a similar design, but the more direct reason was that, as seneschal of Provence, he was involved in the introduction of a version of the same coin by Robert for his county of Provence. The first contract for these *gillats* was signed at Villeneuve in 1330, and it is a reasonable assumption that the Rhodian issues, which resemble the Provençal coins more closely than the Neapolitan, began after that date.[4] One may connect them with the eventual arrival of Helion on Rhodes in 1332 and the reforms which he briskly put in hand. The original attempt to institute a coinage, that is to say, failed, and there was an interval of fifteen years or so before the second, successful, attempt.

Pegolotti describes the Rhodian monetary system in precious detail: 'Spendesi a Rodi una moneta d'argento che si batte a Rodi, che si chiamano gigliati e sono di lega d'once XI e sterlini 3 d'argento fine per libbra; ed entrane in uno marchio di Rodi 57 a conto, e la zecca di Rodi ne rende pure 55 e mezzo a conto per marco . . .' He goes on to explain the following system of equivalence:

2 deniers = 1 carat
8 carats = 1 asper
24 carats = 1 bezant
2 aspers = 1 gigliato
1½ gigliati = 1 bezant
6⅔ bezants = 1 gold florin
10 gigliati = 1 gold florin

The gigliato of 32 deniers, with its half, were the standard coins, and the bezant and carat were merely moneys of account. The gold florin in Pegolotti's text[5] is an Italian coin, but the grand masters began to strike their own ducats or zecchini sporadically at about the middle of the fourteenth century.

The gigliati were on flans accurately adjusted to their weight-standard. Most specimens of Helion's issues lie between 3·85 and 4·0 g. A few which weigh only 3·55–3·65 g hint at a different standard, presumably an early phase, about which Pegolotti does not inform us. There are also light aspers to match.

Schlumberger distinguished between the majority of Helion's gigliati, and a few from the end of his magistracy with a more naturalistic kneeling figure in a hooded

[3] The conventual holdings of the Hospitallers were adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre church.

[4] P. Grierson, 'Le *gillat* ou *carlin* de Naples-Provence: le rayonnement de son type monétaire', *Centenaire de la Société française de numismatique, 1865–1965* (1965), pp. 43–56.

[5] A. Evans, *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 103.

habit (and with modified fleurs on the reverse). There is also an intermediate version, with a more natural beard.

The reverses carry what may be secret marks in the form of a dot added in one or another quarter of the shields on the arms of the reverse cross.

Helion's last type was continued under the magistracies of Dieudonné of Gozo (1346–53) and Peter of Corneillan (1353–5), and into that of Roger of Pins (1355–65). Roger modified the design of the gigliati slightly by adding the heraldic device of a pine-cone, from his arms, in the obverse field. Later grand masters displayed their own arms similarly.

Dieudonné and Peter struck gold ducats or zecchini, of which the reverse copies the Venetian prototype closely, while the obverse shows the angel seated on the empty tomb-slab. These coins are extremely rare, and no more gold was minted, so far as we know, until after 1421.[6]

Under Juan Fernandez of Heredia (1377–96) the asper was replaced by a coin weighing a third as much as the gigliato, and tariffed, presumably, at three to the gigliato—although we have little or no documentary evidence for the period after Pegolotti wrote.

Among our most reliable sources of information about the gigliati is a major hoard discovered in *c.*1971/2, and published in exemplary detail.[7] The die-linkage within the hoard allows us to form a conservative estimate of the numbers of obverse and reverse dies used over a period of about fifty years.

	Coins	*Estimated dies*	
		Obv.	*Rev.*
Roger of Pins, 1355–65, early type	1		
later type	8		
Raymond Berenger, 1365–74	23	*	*
Robert of Juilly, 1374–7	35	36	*c.*150
Juan Fernandez of Heredia, 1377–96	79	80	*c.*185
Philibert of Naillac, 1396–1421	53	16	*c.* 40

* Few or no die duplicates, therefore presumably a large original total of dies.

It is instructive to compare Schlumberger's reiterated remarks on the scarcity of these coins, which have in general had a low survival-rate. Of Robert of Juilly, for example, he knew of only ten gigliati—whereas there were thirty-five in this one hoard.[8]

[6] H. E. Ives, *The Venetian Gold Ducat and its Imitations* (ed. and annot. by P. Grierson) (New York, 1954), pp. 18 f. Dieudonné's coin is known only from an early drawing and from the specimen in the collection of N. Papadopoli, published and illustrated by him in 'I primi zecchini dei Gran Maestri dell'Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme', *Procès-verbaux et mémoires du Congrès international de Numismatique . . . Bruxelles, 1910* (eds. A. de Witte and V. Tourneur) (Brussels, 1910), pp. 349–58 and pl. 12. The unique coin of Peter of Corneillan is to be found there too. Each weighs 3·50 g.

[7] The hoard is described by E. B[ernareggi]. in an auction-sale catalogue, Gitta Kastner, Katalog 3, Munich, 22–3 May 1973, pp. 68–88, with good illustrations. Two specimens from the hoard entered the Oxford collection (nos. 856, 858).

[8] Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 242, and cf. p. 251: 'La rareté extrême des monnaies des grands maîtres est un fait connu de tous les archéologues. Elles peuvent compter à bon droit parmi les plus introuvables monnaies du moyen âge . . . La raison . . . est fort simple; elles n'ont guère quitté Rhodes, où les isolait, au moyen âge, la situation géographique et politique même de cette île . . . C'est donc à Rhodes même, et non point seulement dans la capitale, mais bien dans l'intérieur de l'île, qu'il faut aller chercher les *gigliati* et les aspres des grands maîtres, et c'est, en somme, un voyage qu'il est donné à peu de personnes de pouvoir exécuter.'

Among fifty-three coins of Philibert of Naillac in the hoard, thirty-seven have pious reverse legends, such as +SANTA CROSE AIUTA ME, +SANTA CROSE FAbE (*fave*) AMEN, or IN NOMINE DEI SANTA CROSE AMEN. Occasionally the obverses show the grand master grasping the staff of the cross. It has been suggested that the 'emergency' coins with pious legends are to be connected with the severe defeat of the knights at Smyrna at the hands of Tamerlane in 1402/3.[9] Note, however, that they show much variation in their obverse legends, and that they are die-linked with normal coins.

Another hoard, published only in part, consisted of between 150 and 200 gigliati, of various masters from Dieudonné of Gozo to Philibert of Naillac—from whose magistracy there were 48 coins. The date of deposit was, again, probably around the turn of the century.[10]

A smaller hoard, of a similar date of deposit, perhaps from Bodrum, came to light in *c.*1963. It contained 14 gigliati of Heredia and 25 of Philibert of Naillac. The average weight of the coins was 3·84 g. The 14 of Heredia are from 12 obverse and 11 reverse dies, while the 25 of Philibert are from only 11 obverse and 13 reverse dies. It was he who seized Bodrum in 1402 and built the castle there.[11]

Antony Fluviano (1420–37) was the first master to strike ducats in close imitation of the Venetian pieces. He apparently issued very few gigliati.

There seems to have been a change in the system of coin denominations under John of Lastic (1437–54), who, instead of gigliati and thirds, struck coins of a new design and of about the size of the old asper. John-Baptist Orsini resumed the issue of gigliati in the traditional design, but it is likely that by the time of his magistracy (1467–76) they were tariffed in terms of the new aspers.

THE PROBLEM OF ATTRIBUTING THE FRACTIONAL COINS

The small change of Rhodes and the other islands controlled by the masters was almost all anonymous. Two exceptions which provide useful fixed points for the classification of the coins are, first, the deniers of Roger of Pins, which (although still anonymous) have his pine-cone added to their design, and secondly, the billon pieces of Peter of Aubusson (1476–1503) and Emery of Amboise (1503–12), which are of new designs and are signed. The coins which present the numismatist with his only difficult problem of attribution all have as their type a gateway (*janua*) as seen on Genoese coins, or else a modified version of it echoing the châtel of the denier tournois. Roger's deniers, which are of billon, are of the 'Genoese' type; the plentiful specimens with a châtel are smaller and lighter and seem to be of pure copper. Schlumberger attributes as the earliest anonymous deniers coins of a good size and apparently of good billon, reading MAGR·OSPITALI and CIVITAS RODI—and with the châtel design.[12] His scheme thus involves an alternation of types: châtel, Genoese gate, châtel. One wonders whether Schlumberger has not confused matters by amalgamating coins of two different denominations: billon deniers, and coppers

[9] E.B., loc. cit. (n. 7).

[10] E. Bernareggi, 'Gigliati del Gran Maestro dei Cavalieri di Rodi Philibert de Naillac', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 66 (1964), 119–36.

[11] A. J. Seltman, in *NC*[7] 4 (1964), 287–91.

[12] Schlumberger, pl. 10, 2 and 13.

of lower value, distinguished by annulets in two quarters of the cross. Otherwise one has to explain Aubusson's small billon coins as some new denomination other than the denier. The larger billon coins with the châtel type, which Schlumberger placed at the beginning of the series, perhaps belong to one of the reformed systems of denominations of the late fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. In the absence of hoards of fractional coinage, evidence for their chronology will be very difficult to acquire, and it may be necessary to build up a tentative interpretation based on archaeological contexts.

THE MONETARY REFORM OF PETER OF AUBUSSON

After his elevation to the cardinalate, Peter of Aubusson struck large silver coins weighing as much as 13 g, and their halves.[13] They are the first Renaissance coinage of the Aegean area, and, in their workmanship, size, and weight are precursors of the scudi and talers which became the standard silver denomination of sixteenth-century western Europe. Coinages in similar style were produced for succeeding grand masters until the fall of Rhodes in 1522.

25. LEAD TOKENS

The crudely cast coin-like objects which are usually called 'lead tokens' may be made either of lead or of a lead-tin alloy resembling pewter. Extremely little is known about their purpose, places of origin, or even the century to which they belong. An important cache of them has been found in Dublin, dated to shortly before 1279;[1] but it would be difficult to find any other west European tokens for which an earlier date than that could be proved. It is equally difficult to grasp any facts about the lead tokens of the Latin East—which, if they are from Syria or Palestine, are almost certainly earlier.

A group of fifteen interesting specimens from Acre has been published by the Haifa Numismatic Society and the Crusader Coins Research Circle.[2] Their designs include a key, a hammer, a pair of pincers, a battlemented gateway, a boat, a lis, a star of David, two fish (Pisces), a lion of Cyprus, and a knight on horseback. The last is reminiscent of a Sicilian trifollaro.

Another eight specimens also from Acre have simpler linear designs, often cruciform.[3]

They are presumably from either the twelfth or the thirteenth century, and presumably they had some purchasing power. The only possible clue to their issuers is that the hammer and pincer designs suggest craft work.

[13] Schlumberger, pl. 11, 2 and 5.

[1] M. Dolley and W. A. Seaby, 'A find of thirteenth-century pewter tokens from the National Museum excavations at Winetavern Street, Dublin', *NCirc.* 79 (1971), 446–8. Cf. J. Y. Akerman, 'Leaden tokens found in London', *NC* 7 (1846), 116 f., on tavern tokens.

[2] They are illustrated in the catalogue of an exhibition held at the Municipal Museum, Akko, in 1970, entitled *Crusader Coinage Found in Akko* [Pp. 16].

[3] Rough sketches in D. M. Metcalf, 'A hundred stray finds from Akko (Saint-Jean d'Acre)', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 141–9, at p. 149. Those in the exhibition are obviously the cream; these are probably the skim milk. One other find from Acre is published by L. Y. Rahmani and A. Spaer in *INJ* 3 (1965–6), 73.

A mould for casting simultaneously five lead tokens of assorted designs has been found at Akko, and this is, at least, good evidence that the pieces were made there.[4] The heraldic eagles in two of the designs suggest a thirteenth- rather than a twelfth-century date. Three lead tokens from the excavations at Pilgrims' Castle have been illustrated.[5]

Lead models of shells, which have been found at Caesarea and occasionally elsewhere, are probably weights.[6]

No lead tokens comparable to those from Acre are recorded among the minor objects from the Corinth excavations.[7]

[4] *Crusader Coinage Found in Akko*, title page (hebraicè) and caption overleaf. This is one of a pair of moulds that were pegged together and used vertically.

[5] C. N. Johns, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 5 (1936), at p. 54.

[6] I am indebted for this observation to Mr Lionel Holland, who is studying the finds.

[7] G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, vol. 12, *The Minor Objects* (Princeton NJ, 1952), pp. 354 ff.

HOARDS AND SITE-FINDS FROM THE LATIN EAST

1. A CHECK-LIST OF HOARDS

THE list is in principle restricted to hoards concealed *in territory under Latin control*: these, with the site-finds (section 2 below), are the essential source material for a description of the currency of the Latin states. One or two hoards of doubtful provenance, such as that from 'the Troad', have been included even though it seems unlikely that they are from Latin territory, as have a few 'travellers' hoards' which pre-date the Latin occupation of the regions where they were found—such as the Samos and the Corinth 1905 hoards. Parcels to which, unfortunately, no geographical provenance attaches have been included if they are of importance for the classification of the varieties they contain.

The list is divided into A, Syria and Palestine, B, Cyprus, and C, the Latin Empire, and a provisional attempt has been made to arrange the hoards into a chronological sequence in each section.

Shortened references have been given for the following books and articles, each of which includes an inventory that is often the best or the only publication of the hoards it describes:

F. Dumas, 'Les monnaies normandes (X^e^-XII^e^ siècles) avec un répertoire des trouvailles', *RN*^6^ 21 (1979), 84–140.

J. Duplessy and D. M. Metcalf, 'Le trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en Orient latin aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles, *RBN* 108 (1962), 173–207.

M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, vol. 12) (Washington, 1969).

D. M. Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch. Some new hoards and stray finds from the time of the Crusades', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 22/23 (1968/69), 443–70.

D. M. Metcalf, 'John Vatatzes and John Comnenus: questions of style and detail in Byzantine numismatics', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 3 (1960), 203–14.

D. M. Metcalf, 'The currency of *deniers tournois* in Frankish Greece', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 55 (1960), 38–59.

G. C. Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', *ANSMN* 13 (1967), 189–203.

J. Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished Byzantine hoards of billon trachea from Greek Macedonia and Thrace', *Balkan Studies* 14 (1973), 131–66.

B. E. Vlamis, 'Hoards of Cypriot coins found in Cyprus and elsewhere', *NR* 4 (1973), 62–4; ibid. 5 (1974), 74–9; ibid. 7 (1976), 25 f.; ibid. 11 (1980), 81–6.

A. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

1. (BEIRUT), 1886 **first half of the 11th c.?**

2 + *AR* deniers. Normandy.

Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch', 468 and pl. 19, 6–7; Dumas, 'Les monnaies normandes', hoard 19.

2. ANTIOCH, 1932 **1098?**

15 *AR*. Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Melgueil, Le Puy.

S. H. Weber, 'The coins', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1934), p. 80; D. B. Waagé, ibid., vol. 4, part 2, *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952), p. 171.

3. JERUSALEM, 1968–9 **early 12th c.?**

77 *AR*. Chartres, PA 1731 (76), Blois (1).

Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch', 466 f.

4. (TEL AVIV) **early 12th c.?**

17 *AR*. Chartres, Le Mans, Melle, Rheims, Pavia.

Metcalf, in *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 139–41.

5. 'FIRST SUBAK', 1968 **mid-twelfth c.?**

474 billon. Lucca, Valence, Melle, Chartres, Le Mans.

Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch', 460–1.

6. 'SECOND SUBAK', 1968 **third quarter of 12th c.?**

1111 billon. Lucca, Valence.

Ibid. 461–2.

7. 'SUBAK' (ANTIOCH?) ***c.*1150–60**

127 billon 'bare head' deniers of Antioch ending with Class C.

D. M. Metcalf, in *NC*[7] 9 (1969), 246–67; id., 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch'; C. J. Sabine, in *NC* 141 (1981), 158–63.

8. 'BOURGEY' (LATIN KINGDOM?) ***c.*1150–67**

855 billon. Jerusalem, Baldwin (852), Lucca (1), Valence (1), Vienne (1).

J. Yvon, in *RN*[6] 8 (1966), 92–7; D. M. Metcalf, in *NC*[7] 18 (1978), 71–84.

9. RAS SHAMRA, 1966 ***(a) c.*1160; *(b) c.*1175**

549 silver and billon. Lucca, Valence, Antioch 'bare head' and 'helmet', English short cross. Almost certainly a conflation of two or more parcels, with later intrusive pieces.

Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch', 462–6; id., 'The Short Cross coins in the Ras Shamra hoard of 1966', *British Numismatic Journal* 38 (1969), 188 f.; C. J. Sabine, in *NC* 141 (1981), 158–63.

10. EMMAUS EL-QUBEIBEH, pre 1947 ***c.*1150–87**

8 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem, 7 cut pieces.

Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', 189; Metcalf in *NC*[7] (1975), 198–9.

11. BETHLEHEM, 1932 ***c.*1150–87**

3 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem.

Metcalf in *NC*[7] 15 (1975), 198–9.

12. TYRE, near, 1965 ***c.*1150–87**

15 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem (including several of Tyre mint?).

Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', 192–3.

13. UNKNOWN ('American Numismatic Society, 1959') ***c.*1150–87**

15 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem.

Balog and Yvon, in *ANSMN* 11 (1964), 295–301; Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', 190.

14. UNKNOWN ('Bedoukian A') ***c.*1150–87**

9 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem.

Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', 191–2.

15. JERUSALEM ('YMCA'), 1927 ***c.*1167–1200**

*c.*150–200 billon, including *Amalricus* deniers of good weight.

Metcalf, in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 118 f.

16. 'LILBURN', before 1966 ***c.*1170–80**

160 billon. Helmet deniers of Antioch, ending with Class D.

A. Lilburn, in *NC* 141 (1981), 163–6.

17. 'SUBAK' parcel 1, before 1978 ***c.*1187–95**

207 billon. Helmet deniers of Antioch ending with Class F (202), Lucca (1), Valence (3), Lyon (1).

Metcalf, in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 137–40.

18. 'HAVARDJIAN' parcel, before 1979 ***c.*1187–95**

145 billon. Helmet deniers of Antioch ending with Class F (139), Tripoli (1), Valence (3), Melgueil (1), Guingamp (1).

Ibid., pp. 140–2.

19. 'SUBAK' parcel 2, before 1979 ***c.*1187–95**

173 billon. Helmet deniers of Antioch ending with Class F (172), Valence (1).

Ibid., pp. 142–4.

20. LATAKIA, *c.*1957 **after *c.*1187**

41 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem (30, including one on reduced gold standard) and of (?) Yemeni type (11).

Balog and Yvon, in *ANSMN* 11 (1964), 295–301; Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants', 190; Gordus and Metcalf, in *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 1 (1980), 129 f., 245–9.

21. RAS SHAMRA, *c.* 1966 **after *c.*1187**

12 *AV* bezants of Jerusalem (some on two-thirds gold standard).

Miles, 'Some hoards of Crusader bezants'; Gordus and Metcalf, loc. cit., 145, 148.

22. (JERUSALEM) **early 13th c.?**

87 billon. Provins, Angoulême.

Metcalf, in *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 139–41.

23. KFAR NAḤUM **early 13th c.?**

6 billon '*Moneta Regis*' deniers of the Latin Kingdom.

L. Y. Rahmani, in *INJ* 4 (1980), 72–6.

24. NAḤAL 'AMUD **early 13th c.?**

7 billon '*Moneta Regis*' deniers of the Latin Kingdom.

Ibid.

25. LEBANON, before *c.* 1960 **early 13th c.?**

*c.*180 billon deniers from France (*c.*100) and the Latin East (*c.*80).

See Section 16 above.

26. 'STEWART' hoard, before *c.*1960
***c.*1210–16**

202 billon Helmet deniers of Antioch, of Classes A (1), B (4), B/C imitations? (3), C (31), D (2), E/D? (1), E (40), E/F (1), F/E (3), F (2), G (1), H (10), J (88), J or K1 (1), K1 (10), K2 (3).

Metcalf, in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 27/9 (1973/5), 72–80; this catalogue, nos. 253, etc. (See Index of Hoard Provenances.)

27. MAĞARACIK, 1962 **after *c.*1216**

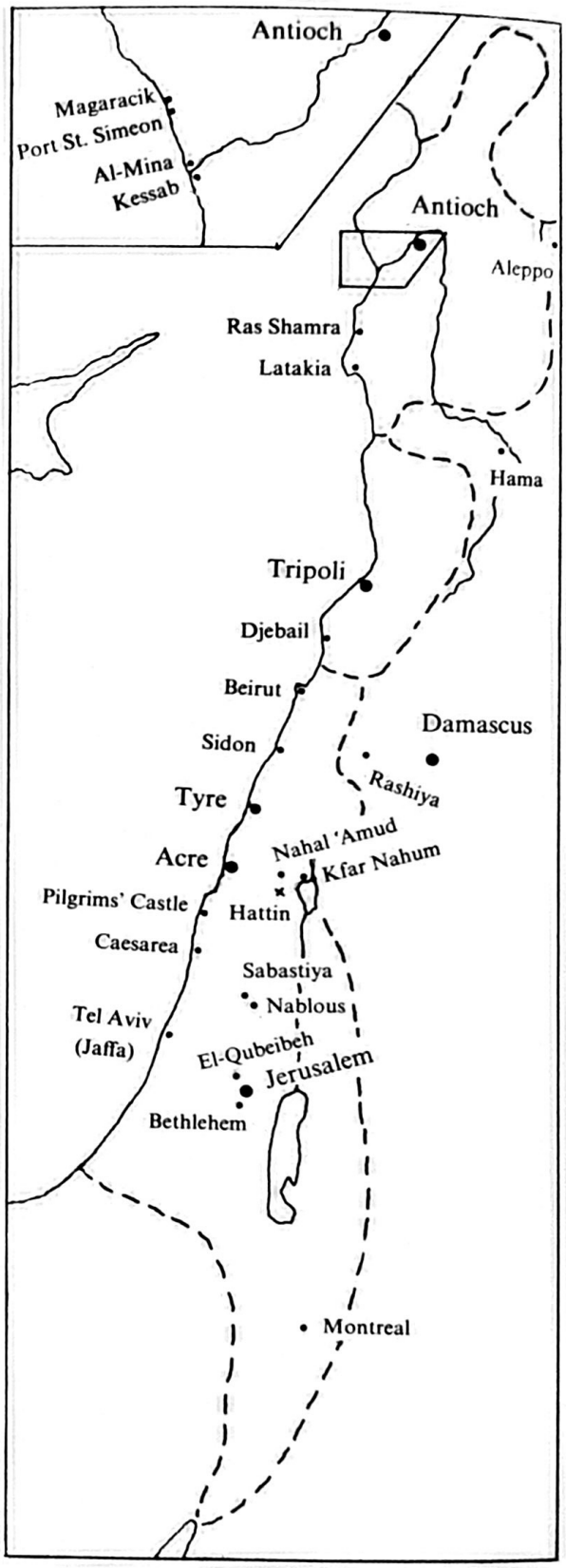
353 (348) billon Helmet deniers of Antioch, of Classes A (1), B (14), C (97), D (22), E (197), F (14), J (2), N (1).

D. M. Metcalf, 'The Mağaracik hoard', *ANSMN* 16 (1970), 95–109; id., in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, 27/9 (1973/5), at p. 74.

28. ANTIOCH (near), 1966 **after *c.* 1216?**

845 billon. 'Helmet' deniers of Antioch (844), Levon I (1).

P. Z. Bedoukian, in *NC*7 7 (1967), 189–97; and cf.



another large hoard of Helmet deniers, also from near Antioch, found before 1875, and containing one coin of Levon I; G. Schlumberger, in *Revue Archéologique* 1875. A parcel perhaps from the same hoard was studied by P. Lambros: *Mélanges de Numismatique* 1874-5, 362.

29. TRIPOLI, 1929 **c.1220-5**

3,533+billon deniers (1,794 French, 1 German, 3 Italian, 1,735 Crusader, 1 Islamic).

Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard*; Duplessy and Metcalf, 'The Samos hoard', 204-5.

30. KESSAB, before 1932 **c.1225-30**

1,017 billon (302 French, 715 Crusader).

H. Longuet, in *RN*[4] 38 (1935), 163-83; Duplessy and Metcalf, 'The Samos hoard', 205-6.

31. DJEBAIL, before 1907 **c.1230-5**

*c.*120 billon (Tripoli 33, Cyprus 19, Jerusalem 13, Sidon 6, France 1).

Schlumberger in *RN*[4] 11 (1907), 282; C. J. Sabine, in *NC*[7] 20 (1980), 96 f.

32. AL-MINA, 1936 **c.1230-40**

38 billon (Antioch 35, ending with Class O, Sidon 1, France 1, Armenia 1).

D. F. Allen in *NC*[5] 17 (1937), 200-10; Duplessy and Metcalf, 'The Samos hoard', 207. (The find spot is near Antioch, not Tripoli.)

33. CHÂTELLERAULT, before 1889 **c. 1230-50**

*c.*600 billon (French, Crusader).

Duplessy and Metcalf, 'The Samos hoard', 201-2; Metcalf, 'Burgundian money in the Latin East', *INJ* 5 (1981), 73-82.

34. '*AGNUS DEI*' hoard, before 1952 **after 1251**

31+*N* bezants. Latin Kingdom, (?) two-thirds gold, BY 27-32 (6), BY 40 (4), *Agnus Dei* (1); Tripoli, BY 5-7 (8), BY 15 (3), BY 14 (9).

Grierson, in *ANSMN* 6 (1954), at p. 174.

B. CYPRUS

35. SALAMIS, 1965 **late 11th/early 12th c.?**

Æ 18. Chartres, PA 1731 (17), Normandy, PA 169 (1).

B. Helly, in G. Argoud *et al.*, *Salamine de Chypre*, vol. 4 (1973), 197 ff.; Dumas 'Les monnaies normandes', hoard 53 (third quarter of the 11th century).

36. PAPHOS, 1975 **c.1240-84**

El 54+, bezants of Hugh I (1) and Henry I (53).

Vlamis 166.

37. ST. HILARION CASTLE, *c.*1950 **1285-early 14th c.**

Billon 146 deniers, Hugh III (15) and Henry II (129), Ancona (1), Sicily (1).

Metcalf, in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 27/9 (1973/5), 81-3; Vlamis 209.

38. PAPHOS, *c.*1950 **1285-mid 14th c.?**

Billon 264, Hugh I (1), Henry I (1), Hugh III (25), Henry II (181), unidentified Cyprus (54), Burgundy (1), Bohemund III (1). Two (intrusive?) of Rhodes (1353-5).

Stewart collection, typescript list. (Cf. Vlamis 158?)

39. NICOSIA, *c.*1973 **after 1285**

Billon deniers, Hugh III and Henry II.

Vlamis 153.

40. PAPHOS, *c.*1950 **after 1285**

Billon deniers, Hugh III and Henry II.

Vlamis 158. (The same hoard as that in the Stewart collection, above ?)

41. LIMASSOL **13th/early 14th c.**

Billon deniers.

Vlamis 151.

42. FAMAGUSTA, *c.*1968 **13th/early 14th c.**

Billon deniers.

Vlamis 156.

43. PAPHOS, *c.*1965 **13th/early 14th c.**

Billon deniers.

Vlamis 157.

44. POTAMIA, 1976 **after 1310**

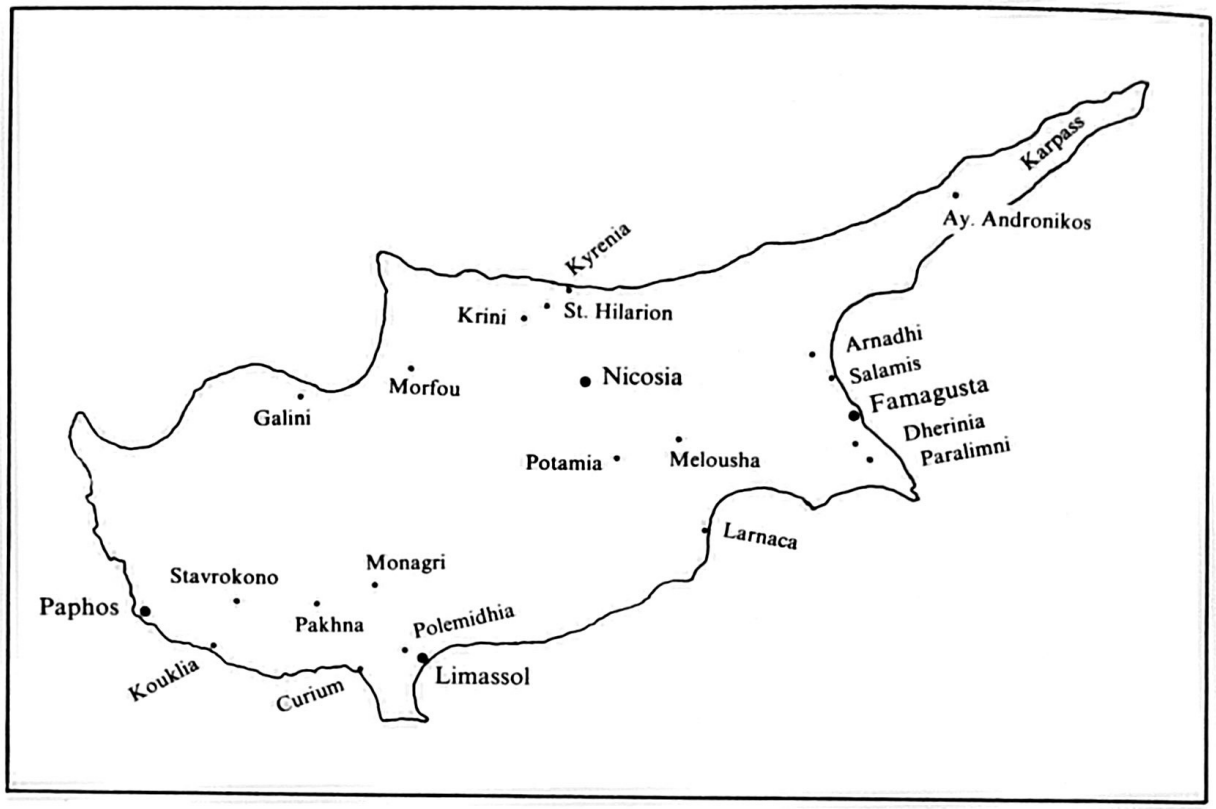
Billon 115+ deniers of Cyprus and Achaia.

Vlamis 208.

45. PAPHOS, *c.*1980 **after 1306 (1313?)**

Æ *c.*100 gros. Henry II heavy series, *c.*30; Amaury with Henry, 3; Henry, second series, *c.*70, apparently all 1A, plain or star.

Metcalf, in *NC* 142 (1982), 84-100; ibid. 143 (1983), 177-201.



46. KRINI **after 1310**
Æ gros of Henry II, Amaury with Henry, Amaury alone.
Inf. Mr A. G. Pitsillides; *NC* 142 (1982), 84–100, at p. 93.

47. KYRENIA, 1939 **1324–59**
Æ 45+ gros of Henry II (second series, 15+), Amaury (2), and Hugh IV (28).
Vlamis 154; *Coin Hoards* (1976), 501.

48. KARPASS region, *c.*1950 **1324–59**
Æ 23 gros and gros petits, Henry II (2 gros, 9 gros petits), Hugh IV (4 gros, 8 gros petits).
Stewart collection, typescript list, nos. 2117–39.

49. PAKHNA, *c.*1945 **1324–59**
Æ gros of Henry II, Amaury, and Hugh IV.
Vlamis 146.

50. KOUCA, *c.*1940 **1324–59**
Æ gros and gros petits of Henry II and Hugh IV.
Vlamis 147. (Correct place-name?)

51. POLEMIDHIA **1324–59**
Æ gros and gros petits of Henry II and Hugh IV.
Vlamis 149.

52. NICOSIA, *c.*1967 **1324–59**
Æ gros and gros petits of Henry II and Hugh IV.
Vlamis 142.

53. MELOUSHA, *c.*1973 **1324–59**
Æ gros of Henry II, Amaury, and Hugh IV.
Vlamis 160. (Cf. no. 62 below.)

54. PAPHOS, 1975 **1324–59**
Æ 20+ gros, of Henry II (second series) (11) and Hugh IV (9).
Vlamis 167.

55. 'NORTH CYPRUS', *c.*1980 **1359–69**
Æ 114+ gros and gros petits, Henry II (6, and 2 gros petits), Hugh IV (5, and 2 gros petits), Peter I (96, and 3 gros petits).
Metcalf, unpublished notes. (Probably a parcel from the Famagusta hoard, no. 61 below, to judge from the patination. Inf. A.G.P.)

56. MORFOU, 1904 **1359–69 (1373?)**
Æ 2,706 gros and gros petits of Henry II, Amaury, Hugh IV, and Peter I [and Peter II?]. One-third of the hoard was awarded to the Cyprus government, one-third to the bishop of Kyrenia, and one-third to the people of Morphou,

who sold their share to King Victor Emmanuel III. Some coins were presented to the British Museum by H. Pirie-Gordon.

Vlamis 148; T. Chamberlayne, *Le Trésor dou Morf* (1906) [unfinished]; Stewart, unpublished notes.

57. NICOSIA, *c.*1939 **1359-69 (1373?)**

Æ gros and gros petits of Henry II, Hugh IV, and Peter I.

Vlamis 150.

58. KOUKLIA (near Ag. Epiphanios church), 1937 **1373?**

Æ 2,000-3,000 gros and gros petits, Henry II, Hugh IV, Peter I, Peter II.

Stewart, unpublished notes.

59. GALINI, near Xeros, 1945 **1373?**

Æ 600+ gros, Henry II, Amaury, Hugh IV, Peter I, Peter II.

Stewart, unpublished notes.

60. DHERINIA, near, 1946 (loc. Halasmata) **1373?**

Æ 117+ gros and gros petits, Henry II (38), Hugh IV (57), Peter I (14), Peter II (8), 1 Rhodian gigliato of R. Berenger.

Stewart collection, typescript list. (In two parts: earlier acquisitions, marked (?) Dherinia, and later ones, stated firmly to be from the hoard.)

61. FAMAGUSTA, 1970 **1373?**

Æ 3,000 gros and gros petits of Henry II (hundreds), Amaury (16+), Hugh IV (hundreds), Peter I (hundreds), and Peter II (1st issue, 2 gros and 2 gros petits).

Vlamis 155; *Coin Hoards*, 2 (1976), 502; Metcalf, in *NC* 143 (1983) (forthcoming).

62. MELOUSHA, *c.*1951 **1373?**

Æ gros and deniers.

Vlamis 159; *Ann. Report of the Dir. of Antiq. for 1951* (Nicosia, 1952), p. 17.

63. AYIOS ANDRONIKOS, *c.*1951 **1373?**

Æ gros and deniers.

Ibid.

64. LIMASSOL, 1976 **1373?**

Æ 260 (250 gros and 10 gros petits) of Amaury (1), Henry II (second series) (145), Hugh IV (92), Peter I (17), Peter II (first issue) (5).

Vlamis 168.

65. NICOSIA, *c.*1973 **1382-98**

Æ gros of James I.

Vlamis 161.

66. LARNACA, 1932/3 **1382-early 14th c.?**

A part or the whole of the hoard passed into the hands of Sir R. Stubbs, the Governor of Cyprus. These were (among) the coins presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Lady Stubbs in 1948. The duplicates were acquired by Professor Stewart through commercial channels in 1949.

67. PARALIMNI, 1975 **1398-*c.*1440**

Æ 200+ gros and gros petits. Henry II (second series, 17), Hugh IV (50), Peter I (12), Peter II (11), James I (5), Janus (2).

I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou in *NR* 8 (1977), 39-44; Vlamis 169.

68. NICOSIA **15th c.**

Æ 48 deniers.

Vlamis 170.

69. ARNADHI, near, 1946 ***c.*1425**

Æ 67 deniers, James I (21), Janus (15), anonymous (8), unidentified (23).

Stewart collection, typescript list.

70. MONAGRI, (Panagia Amasgou church), *c.*1960 **after 1459**

Æ gros of Louis of Savoy, etc.

Seltman, in *DOP* 28 (1974), 347-9; Vlamis 162.

71. STAVROKONO, *c.*1950 **15th c.**

Æ gros.

Vlamis 163.

72. STAVROKONO **after 1472**

Æ gros of Henry II (17, and 6 gros petits), Hugh IV (41, and 13 gros petits), Peter I (7, and 4 gros petits), Peter II (15), James I (5, and 1 gros petit), Janus (14, and 2 gros petits), John II (145), anonymous (7), Charlotte (33), Louis (166), James II (38, and 3 gros petits), Catherine (53), Venice (109), Rhodes (2), Naples (2).

Vlamis 164. The hoard was mainly divided between the Cyprus Museum and Professor Stewart. The totals given here are of coins in the Stewart collection (typescript list, nos. 902-1,419, 1,421-1,587), now mostly dispersed without proper record.

C. THE LATIN EMPIRE

(*a*) *Before 1204. Travellers' hoards, etc.*

73. ISTANBUL (near), 1875 **mid-11th c.?**
83 Æ. Melle (39), Brittany (27), Chartres (6), Rouen (5), Troyes (3), Lyon (2), Crépy-en-Valois (1).
Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Samos', 203 [*terminus post quem* 1096]; cf. Dumas, 'Les monnaies normandes', 113, hoard 28.

74. CORINTH, 1907 ***c.*1098?**
1 *AV*, 120 Æ. Clermont (119), Le Puy (1); Alexius I, hyperpyron.
Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, pp. 99, 358, and pl. 6.

75. CORINTH, *c.*1928 ***c.*1100**
71 Æ Seljuks of Syria (65), Byzantine (6).
Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, pp. 99 f. [A traveller's hoard from Antioch?]

76. 'IZMIR', 1968 **second quarter of 12th c.?**
47 billon. Lucca, Valence, Melle, (Antioch, Helmet Class D, intrusive? Valence terminates with Group C?).
Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence and Antioch', 459.

77. CORINTH, 1905 **mid-12th c.?**
14 Æ, Valence (9, including Group E), Lucca (5).
Ibid. [A traveller's hoard possibly from Antioch.]

78. SAMOS (TIGANI), 1932 ***c.*1182?**
435 billon. Tours (111), Anjou (113), Melgueil (89), Gien-Donzy (29), Dijon (23), etc.; Jerusalem: Baldwin (1), Amaury (5); Antioch, Class E (1).
W. Schwabacher, 'Zwei Denarfunde von ostgriechischen Inseln', *Deutsche Münzblätter* 55 (1935), 454-60; Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Le trésor de Samos'; Metcalf, 'Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch', 470.

(*b*) *After 1204. Hoards of trachea*

Note: where two figures are given for pre-1204 trachea, they refer to normal and reduced-value ('Bulgarian imitative') trachea respectively.

79. CENTRAL MACEDONIA, 1971-2 ***c.*1204-10**
111 trachea (33 + 74 pre-1204, 4 Latin).
Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished Byzantine hoards'.

80. AIANÍ (site: Sélio), 1973 ***c.*1204-10**
43 trachea (12 + 13 pre-1204, 18 Latin).
J. Touratsoglou, in *Arkhaiologika Analekta ex Athenon* 7 (1974), 433-5.

81. MYLOPÓTAMOS, Crete **after 1204?**
Trachea, including Latin issues?
M. Caramessini-Oeconomides, in *Actes du XV^e Congrès int. d'études byzantines, Athènes, 1976*, vol. 2 (1981), p. 122.

82. NÁOUSA (Paros), 1924 ***c.*1208-12**
50 trachea (47 pre-1204, 2 Latin, 1 Nicene).
Metcalf, in *ABSA* 56 (1961), 42-63.

83. LEVKOKHÓRI, 1955 ***c.*1208-12**
990 trachea (219 pre-1204, 745 Latin, 13 Nicene).
Metcalf, in *ABSA* 56 (1961), 42-63.

84. MACEDONIA (or THESSALY), 1957-8 ***c.*1208-12?**
*c.*600 trachea, of which 123 comprise 58 + 26 pre-1204, 39 Latin. Another 500 possibly from the same source included about 4 Nicene.
Metcalf, in *ABSA* 56 (1961) 42-63 (Thessaly, 1957), Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished Byzantine hoards', re-describing the 123 coins in the Athens Museum as from Macedonia, 1958.

85. MACEDONIA (Thessaloniki Museum) ***c.*1208-12**
551 trachea (270 + 255 pre-1204, 24 Latin, 2 Nicene).
Touratsoglou, loc. cit.

86. AIANÍ (site: Vamvakies), 1969 ***c.*1208-12**
34 trachea (7 + 8 pre-1204, 18 Latin, 1 Nicene).
Ibid.

87. DRAMA, 1962 ***c.*1208-12**
*c.*2,890 trachea (1,485 + 1,075 pre-1204, 255 Latin, mostly large module, 48 Nicene).
Ibid.

88. KOLKHIKÓN, 1961 ***c.*1208-12**
93 trachea (25 + 23 pre-1204, 43 Latin, about half and half, 1 Nicene).
Ibid.

89. THRACE, 1962 ***c.*1208-12**
50 trachea (2 + 12 pre-1204, 34 Latin, 2 Nicene).
Ibid.

90. VÉROIA, 1963 ***c.*1208-12**
*c.*1800 trachea (102 pre-1204, 268 Latin, 12 Nicene).
T. Hackens, in *Dédalo* 2 (1965), 13-25.

91. (ATHENS), 1933 *c.*1208–20
Several hundred trachea, some pre-1204, but mostly Latin, with a few Nicene.
A. R. Bellinger, 'Three hoards of Byzantine bronze coins', *Greek and Byzantine Studies* 1 (1958), 163–71.

92. NEÁPOLIS, 1964 *c.*1208–20
34 trachea, selected from a large hoard.
Touratsoglou, 'Unpublished Byzantine hoards'.

93. KOZÁNI (1) *c.*1210–20
53 trachea (2 + 10 pre-1204, 40 Latin, mostly small, 1 Nicene).
Ibid.

94. KOZÁNI (2) *c.*1210–20
28 trachea (3 + 6 pre-1204, 17 Latin, 2 Nicene).
Ibid.

95. KOZÁNI (3) *c.*1210–20
*c.*355 trachea (22 + 46 pre-1204, 260 Latin, 5 Nicene).
Ibid.

96. KOZÁNI (4) *c.*1210–20
297 trachea (21 + 66 pre-1204, 202 Latin, mostly small, 4 Nicene).
Ibid.

97. ISTANBUL, before 1946, B *c.*1210–20
469 trachea (63 pre-1204, 189 Latin, 196 Nicene).
Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, pp. 348 f. (The 124 Latin coins of Type A were all or virtually all of small module.)

98. ARCADIA, 1958 *c.*1210–20
204 trachea (162 pre-1204, 42 Latin).
A. R. Bellinger and D. M. Metcalf, in *NC*^{6} 19 (1959), 155–64.

99. TROAD, *c.*1935 *c.*1212–25
140 trachea (26 Latin, 113 Nicene, mostly of the second issue).
Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, pp. 393 f. (The exact find-spot is unrecorded, and this may well be a hoard from Nicene rather than Latin territory.)

100. AMORGÓS, 1908–9 *c.*1212–25
91 trachea (14 + 64 pre-1204, 10 Latin, of which 8 are of the 'Venetian' mint, 1 Nicene of Theodore alone).
Metcalf, unpublished notes.

101. GONIA (Santorin), 1909–10 *c.*1212–25
384 trachea (96 + 174 pre-1204, 87 Latin, of which 84 larger module, and 67 are of the 'Venetian' mint, 27 Nicene, of which 3 are of Theodore alone).
Metcalf, unpublished notes.

102. YENIMAHALLE, before 1967 *c.*1215–25
152 trachea (2 pre-1204, 150 Latin, of which 61 are of the 'Venetian' mint).
Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, p. 401.

103. CORINTH, 1960 *c.*1215–25
22 trachea (1 pre-1204, 20 Latin, 1 Nicene), 1 Byzantine.
Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, p. 335.

104. THEBES, 1976 *c.*1237–50
610 trachea (3 pre-1204, 592 Latin, including Constantinople types C, D, and R, and Thessalonica type C, Nicaea, 4, including Hendy, pl. 33, 9, Thessalonica, Hendy, pl. 37, 7–9 (10), and 'Peter and Paul' pl. 11, 121–2 (1)).
Arkhaiologikon Dheltion (forthcoming).

(*c*) *Hoards of gold, silver, and billon*

105. ERYMANTHEIA, 1955 *c.*1222–54
17 *AV* hyperpyra of John III.
BCH 80 (1956), 228; Metcalf, 'John Vatatzes and John Comnenus' (pl. 10).

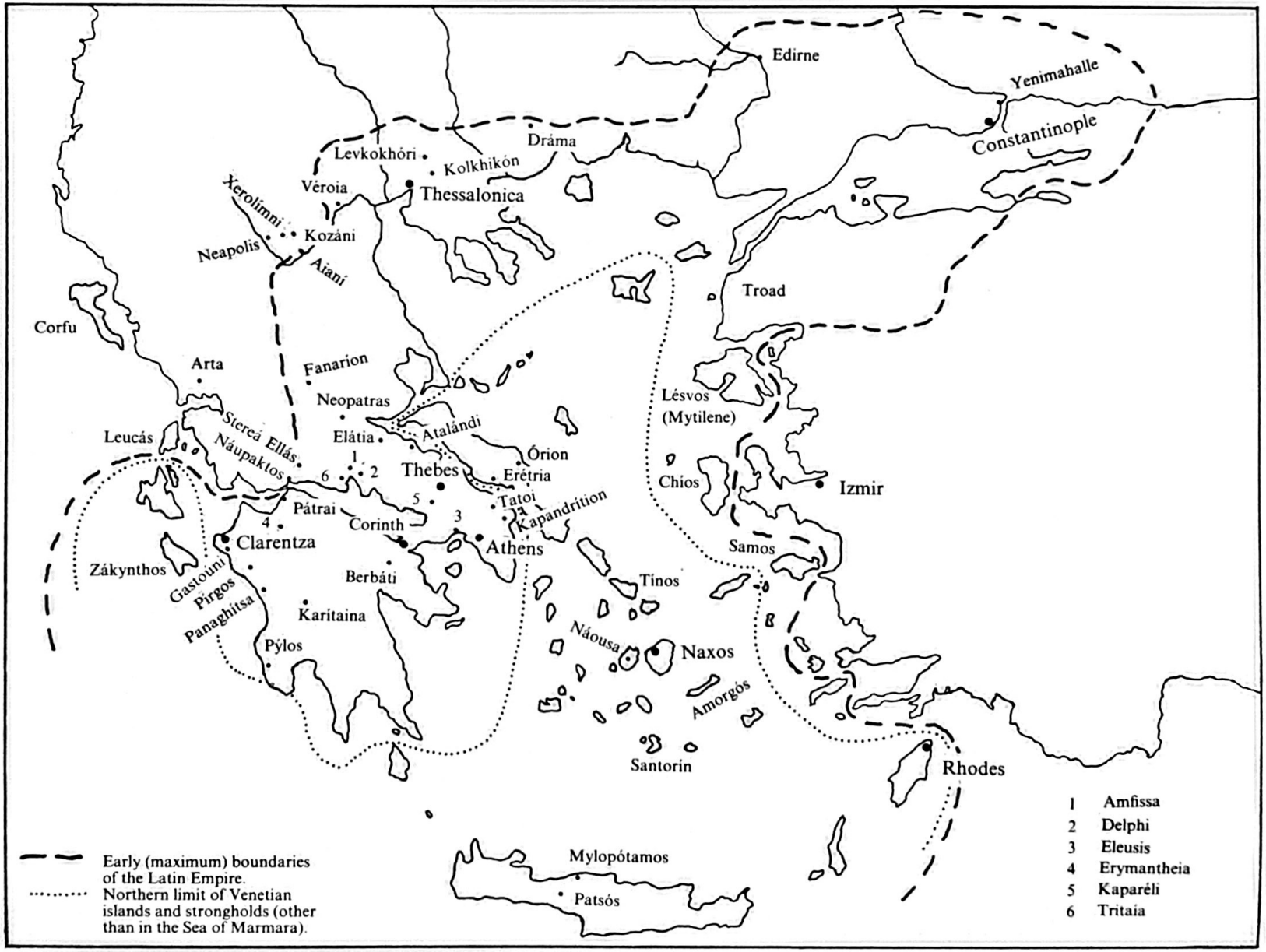
106. DRAMA, 1949 *c.*1222–54
2 *AV* hyperpyra of John III.
BCH 74 (1950), 292 f.; Metcalf, 'John Vatatzes and John Comnenus' (pl. 11).

107. SELTSI *c.*1222–54?
4 *AV* hyperpyra of John II (*rectè* John III?).
BCH 62 (1938), 447.

108. PÁTRAI district, 1930s *c.*1222–54?
AV hyperpyra of John III.
BCH 80 (1956), 228.

109. FANARÍON (Ithome), 1900 *c.*1222–54?
4 *AV* hyperpyra of John II (*rectè* John III?).
Metcalf, 'John Vatatzes and John Comnenus', s.v. Messini.

110. ATHENS, 1928 *c.*1222–54?
10 *AV* hyperpyra of John II (*rectè* John III?).
Metcalf, 'John Vatatzes and John Comnenus'.


Edirne
Yenimahalle
Constantinople
Dráma
Levkokhóri
Kolkhikón
Véroia
Thessalonica
Xerolímni
Kozáni
Neapolis
Aiani
Troad
Corfu
Arta
Fanarion
Neopatras
Lésvos
(Mytilene)
Stereá Ellás
Elátia
Atalándi
Leucás
Náupaktos
Thebes
Órion
Eretria
Chios
Izmir
Tatoi
Kapandrition
Pátrai
Corinth
Clarentza
Athens
Samos
Zákynthos
Gastoúni
Pírgos
Panaghítsa
Berbáti
Tínos
Karítaina
Náousa
Naxos
Pýlos
Amorgós
Santorín
Rhodes
Mylopótamos
Patsós
Early (maximum) boundaries of the Latin Empire.
Northern limit of Venetian islands and strongholds (other than in the Sea of Marmara).
1 Amfissa
2 Delphi
3 Eleusis
4 Erymantheia
5 Kaparéli
6 Tritaia

111. CORINTH, 1898 **1229–50**
2 Venetian grossi of J. Tiepolo.
Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, p. 265.

112. CORINTH, 1934 ***c.*1253–70**
1 *N* hyperpyron of John III, 369 French tournois, 18 English, Venetian, and French silver and billon coins.
Metcalf, 'The currency of *deniers tournois*, hoard A; id., *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, p. 265.

113. THESSALY, 1949 ***c.*1253–70**
1 *N* hyperpyron of John III and 40 *R* Venetian grossi.
Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, p. 221; id., 'John Vatatzes and John Comnenus' (pl. 11).

114. CORINTH, 1925 ***c.*1254–75**
3 *N* hyperpyra of John III (2) and Theodore II (1).
A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of Coins Found at Corinth, 1925* (New Haven, 1930), p. 74.

115. ATHENS (Areopagus), 1963, A ***c.*1255–8**
203 *E* Frankish, Schl. pl. 12, 31 (200), Negroponte (2), Byzantine tetarteron (1).
Metcalf, in *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 203–23.

116. ATHENS (Areopagus), 1963, B ***c.*1255–8?**
8 (10?) French tournois.
Metcalf, ibid., nos. 204–13.

117. NAXOS, *c.*1969 **after 1258 (1263?)**
1,415 *R* and billon (English and related sterlings, 1,408; France, 1 denier tournois, Venice, 6 grossi).
I. Stewart, in *Coin Hoards* 5 (1979), 141 f.

118. PATSÓS (Amarion-Rethýmnon, Crete), 1968 ***c.*1260**
32 (English sterlings, 31, Venice, grosso, 1).
E. Varoukha-Khristodhoulopoulou, in *Pepragména tou 3. Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou* (Athens, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 9–15.

119. BERBÁTI, 1953 ***c.*1265**
2 *R* English sterlings, 11 French tournois.
Metcalf, 'The Berbati hoard, 1953', *NC*[7] 14 (1974), 119–24.

120. ERÉTRIA, Khalkis, 1962 **3rd quarter of 13th. c.?**
French tournois?
E. Varoukha-Khristodhoulopoulou, in *BCH* 86 (1962), 417–27.

121. PANAGHÍTSA XIROKHÓRIOU (ZAKHÁRO) **1287–*c.*1289**
2 *R*, 2,453 billon. French (*c.*50) and Frankish tournois, Venice (2).
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard B. (The hoard is dated by a very few tournois in the name of Guiot: Metcalf, unpublished notes.)

122. KAPANDRÍTION, 1978 **after 1289**
20 *R* grossi (Venice, 19, Serbia, 1).
Coin Hoards 5 (1979), no. 342.

123. DELPHI, 1933 **1301–5**
19 *R* Venetian and Serbian grossi, 38 Frankish tournois.
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard C; id., *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, p. 221 (Table 21).

124. NÁUPAKTOS, before 1971 **1307–15**
474 Frankish tournois.
Oeconomides, in *AD* 26 (1971), part 2, 327 f.

125. NÁUPAKTOS, 1977 **1307–15**
1,584 tournois (French, 20, Frankish, 1,564).
Private collection, Athens.

126. PÝLOS (Navarino)/KALAMATA, 1968/9 ***c.*1310**
3,157 tournois (French, 20, Frankish, 3,137).
D. M. Metcalf, 'The Pylia hoard', *ANSMN* 17 (1971), 173–227.

127. DELPHI, 1929 **1311?**
82 *R* Venetian and 18 Serbian grossi, 560 Frankish tournois.
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard D.

128. ELEUSIS, 1862 **1311?**
275 *R* (France, 175, Sicily, 100), *c.*800 Frankish tournois.
Ibid., hoard E.

129. TATOI (DHEKÉLIA), *c.*1860 **1311?**
*c.*400 Frankish tournois.
Ibid., hoard F.

130. AMFISSA, *c.*1977 **1313–25**
135 Frankish tournois.
M. Oeconomides, in *Arkhaiologikon Dheltion* 28 (1973), 8; D. Kravartogiannos, in *Tetramena* 14 (1977), 1066–72; *Coin Hoards* 4 (1978), no. 445.

131. STEREÁ ELLÁS, 1975 **1315–22**
847 Frankish tournois.
Private collection, Athens.

132. ACARNANIA, before 1967 **1316–20**
At least 49 Frankish tournois.
Metcalf, 'The Pylia hoard', *ANSMN* 17 (1971), at pp. 219 f.

133. ATTICA (?), 1951 ***c.*1322–5**
211 tournois (3 French, 208 Frankish).
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard G.

134. ATTICA, 1950 ***c.*1322–30**
20 Frankish tournois.
Ibid., hoard H.

135. ORION, 1959 ***c.*1322–30**
584 tournois (1 French, 583 Frankish).
Ibid., hoard I.

136. ATTICA (?), 1967 ***c.*1322–33**
186 tournois (1 French, 185 Frankish).
M. Krikou-Galanis, in *AD* 31 (1976), 325–51.

137. TRITAÍA, 1933 ***c.*1322–35**
72 Frankish tournois.
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard J.

138. ATALÁNDI, 1940 **1325–30**
287 Frankish tournois.
Ibid., hoard K.

139. DELPHI, 1894 β **1325–40**
2,533 tournois and 2 Æ (8 French, 2,525 Frankish).
Ibid., hoard L.

140. AEGEAN AREA (?), 1858 **1325–40**
Tournois, including Chios and Damala.
Ibid., hoard M.

141. ISTANBUL (near), before 1877 **1325–40**
15 ℛ Venetian grossi and 219 Frankish tournois.
Metcalf, 'The Pylia hoard', *ANSMN* 17 (1971), at pp. 220 f.

142. ELÁTIA, before 1885 **1328–42**
138 Frankish tournois and 22 Venetian coins.
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard N.

143. DELPHI, 1894 γ **1339–44**
266 Frankish tournois and 11 Venetian soldini.
Ibid., hoard O.

144. PÁTRAI, 1955 **1343–55**
*c.*1,000 coins, including 160 Frankish tournois and 150 Venetian soldini.
Ibid., hoard P.

145. RHODES, before 1935 ***c.*1345–50**
100 Frankish tournois.
Metcalf, 'The Pylia hoard', *ANSMN* 17 (1971), at p. 222; id., *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, p. 255.

146. KAPARÉLI, 1927 **1356–63**
53 Frankish tournois, 71 soldini, and 1 Sicilian grosso.
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard Q.

147. ELEUSIS (near), 1952 **1365–80**
557 Frankish tournois and 1,018 Venetian soldini.
Ibid., hoard R.

148. PÍRGOS, 1967 ***c.*1375–85**
1,100 ℛ, Venetian soldini (524), Hungary (14), Lesbos (1).
A. P. Tzamalis, in *NCirc.* 88 (1980), 2–4.

149. ARMÉNOI-APOKORONOU, Crete **1382–1400**
15 billon torneselli.
Coin Hoards 5 (1979), no. 343.

150. KALAPÓDHION, LOCRIS, 1965 **1382–1400**
22 ℛ, Venice (16 soldini), Hungary (9).
D. Kravartogiannos, in *Tetramena* 13 (1977), 995–1005.

151. GASTOÚNI, 1961 **1382–1400**
379 billon. Venice, torneselli.
A. P. Tzamalis, in *NCirc.* 87 (1979), 183 f.

152. ZÁKYNTHOS, 1978 **1400–13**
6,000 + billon. Venice, torneselli (701 described).
Ibid.

153. DELPHI, 1894 α **1400–20**
1,454 Frankish tournois, 2,388 Venetian, and 1 Byzantine coin.
Metcalf, '*Deniers tournois*', hoard S.

2. SITE-FINDS

Major archaeological sites, excavated over many seasons' campaigns, provide fixed points of great importance for the study of the currency. The sheer numbers of coins, accumulated one by one over the years, permit reliable statistical comparisons. As they are stray losses, the finds escape the uncertainties which attach to almost any hoard as regards the circumstances in which it was put together and concealed. And stray losses will usually be made up predominantly of coins of small value, of types not found in hoards.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

From the Crusader principalities of the mainland the only major site from which numerous coins of the period have been recovered under controlled archaeological conditions is Antioch. The campaigns of 1932–9 in the city and its vicinity and at Port St. Simeon (Seleucia Pieria) yielded some 270 coins of the Latin East, of which 192 were of the Antioch mint, and 53 were from western Europe.[1] Supplementary evidence from the mouth of the Orontes is provided by the stray finds from Sir L. Wooley's excavations at al-Mina in 1936.[2] (The Kessab hoard is from the same locality.)

The coins of the Crusader period found at Pilgrim's Castle unfortunately never received the careful publication they deserved.[3]

The excavations at Caesarea have so far (1971–9) yielded very few Crusader coins.[4] The meagre total is supplemented by eighty-six local finds in the Sdot Yam museum.[5]

There are substantial numbers of stray finds from Acre.[6]

CYPRUS

The classical site of Curium has produced some twenty coins of the period of the Crusades, mostly of small face value.[7]

THE LATIN EMPIRE

The incomparably rich material from the American excavations at Corinth and Athens dominates the subject. Many hundreds of coins have been found one by

[1] D. B. Waage, *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Antioch-on-the-Orontes, vol. 4, part 2) (Princeton, 1952), nos. 2283–328.

[2] D. Allen, 'Coins of Antioch, etc. from al-Mina', *NC*[5] 17 (1937), 200–10.

[3] C. N. Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1 (1932), 111–29; ibid., 2 (1933), 41–104; ibid., 3 (1934), 145–64; ibid., 4 (1935), 122–37; ibid., 5 (1936), 31–60, esp. p. 55; ibid., 6 (1938), 121–52.

[4] R. L. Hohlfelder, 'Crusader coin finds from Caesarea Maritima, Israel: the Joint Expedition's excavations, 1971–1979', in *Coinage in the Latin East* (eds. Edbury and Metcalf), pp. 127–31.

[5] D. M. Metcalf, 'Coins from the time of the Crusades found in the region of Caesarea Maritima' (forthcoming).

[6] L. Y. Rahmani and A. Spaer, 'Stray finds of mediaeval coins from Acre', *INJ* 3 (1965/6), 67–73; Y. Meshorer and A. Spaer, 'Two Norman gold coins from Acre', ibid., 77; *Crusader Coinage Found in Akko* (exhibition catalogue) (Akko, 1970); D. M. Metcalf, 'A hundred stray finds from Akko (Saint-Jean d'Acre)', *ANSMN* 20 (1975), 141–9.

[7] D. H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932–1953* (New York, 1959), p. 83.

one.[8] Potentially valuable site-finds await publication from Istanbul, Thasos, and other excavations. At present, with the exception of Sparta,[9] there is hardly any site from which more than a tiny handful of coins from the period of Latin rule has been published.

[8] For a bibliographical and critical survey of the extensive publications relating to the Corinth and Athens material, see D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe, 820–1396*, pp. 36–40 and 234ff.

[9] A. M. Woodward, 'The coins', in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (1929), pp. 393–8; id., in *Annual of the British School at Athens* 26 (1923–5), 157 f.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Shortened references to a number of frequently cited articles are listed at the beginning of the check-list of hoards, p. 88 above.

ANSMN	*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, New York.
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, Athens-Paris.
BSFN	*Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique.*
CH	*Coin Hoards.*
Coinage in the Latin East	P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf (eds.), *Coinage in the Latin East. The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*. (British Archaeological Reports, International Series, vol. 77), Oxford, 1980.
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*, Tel Aviv.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NCirc.	*Numismatic Circular.*
NR	*Numismatic Report* (Cyprus Numismatic Society), Nicosia.
RBN	*Revue belge de Numismatique*, Brussels.
RN	*Revue Numismatique.*
Schlumberger	G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, 1878; *Supplément*, 1882.

General

Schlumberger's evergreen work remains the only comprehensive account of the coinage of the Latin East.

Bibliographies

An extensive numismatic section will be found in H. E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1960), brought up to date in the same author's 'Literaturbericht über die Geschichte der Kreuzzüge', *Historische Zeitschrift* (Sonderheft 3) (1969). More specialist and critical bibliographical surveys are published on the occasion of successive International Numismatic Congresses. Current publications are summarized and indexed in the American Numismatic Society's twice-yearly *Numismatic Literature*.

Particular series of coins

The relevant publications are mentioned in the footnotes of each section in the essay on classification, above, and they will not be repeated here.

Collections and sale catalogues

The premier collection is that in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which incorporates Schlumberger's (second) collection, and those of Melchior de Vogüé and Chandon de Briailles. There are major collections in the British Museum, London, and the American Numismatic Society, New York, and more specialized ones in the Greek National Collection, Athens, the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, and the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. Most

of the major public collections in Europe have a representation of coins of the Latin East. These are all unpublished. There is a selective publication of the Mildred King Memorial Collection, in the Museum of the Order of St. John, Clerkenwell (D. M. Metcalf and P. J. Willis, in *NC*[7] 19 (1979), 133–8). Publication of Philip Grierson's collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is planned. Of private collections, those of the late Professor J. R. Stewart, and of Mr John J. Slocum are of note.

There have been few major auction sales of coins of the Latin East. Those from the collection of Prince Montenuovo and from the Secker collection were sold by Hess (Frankfurt, 26 May 1886). Those from the Donaueschingen cabinet were sold in A. E. Cahn 75 (30 May 1932), lots 1955–99. See also a sale of coins belonging to Lord Grantley, Sotheby (5 July 1914), lots 100–200 and the eleventh part of his collection (Glendining, 26 April 1945, lots 4254–71). Some of these last passed through the sale room again in the Lockett collection, Glendining (29 February 1956), lots 658–710. Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel offered coins of the Latin East in their auctions 6 (1946), lots 915–24 and 30 (5 November 1965), lots 778–881, as did Auctiones S.A. Bâle 7 (7 June 1977), lots 876–904 and 11 (30 September 1980), lots 603–794. The firm of Agora (Tel Aviv) has auctioned Crusader coins, e.g. 2 (21 May 1975), lots 354–80. There was a small series in Glendining (20 May 1969), lots 341–84.

PLATE I

1. BEFORE THE FIRST CRUSADE

NORMANDY

Group A (first third of the eleventh century)

1 *Obv.* Large triangle, with cross at each apex, divided into smaller triangles enclosing pellets.
(?) Є in central triangle. Blundered legend.
(?) CIO/M+/V∽
Rev. Cross pattée, with x in first and fourth quarters, pellet in second and third. Blundered legend, (?) + . . .
0·84 g.

2 *Obv.* Pattern of cross and three letters T, with pellets. Blundered legend.
Rev. Cross pattée, with pellets in angles. Blundered legend.
0·79 g.

2. THE JOURNEY TO THE EAST

ENNS

Mid-twelfth century?

3 *Obv.* Head right, with long pointed beard, and helmet. Ten horseshoe-shaped ornaments (seven visible) between double dotted inner border and plain broad outer border.
Rev. Bare-headed ruler seated on throne without back; his arms are raised. Symbols in field: to left, a hand in the gesture of (?) oath-taking or blessing; to right, a lion's head or possibly a human head. Inner dotted, and outer plain border.
0·75 g (chipped).

NEUNKIRCHEN

Joint issue by counts of Formbach-Pütten and the abbots, from 1141

4 *Obv.* Four crosses around a double square. Facing head in each angle. Outer border of about twenty-eight annulets.
Rev. Unidentified design, largely obliterated by incuse impression of obverse. Outer border apparently of crosses (attached to dotted border) and annulets.
0·815 g.

5 *Obv.* Floral ornament of six petals, with trefoils in the six angles and at the centre. Outer border with annulet joined to each petal, and 6 × 3 horseshoes between.
Rev. Octagonal pattern with inner border of dots and circular central ornament. Outer border of about twenty-four horseshoes.
0·73 g.

UNCERTAIN MINT (WÜRZBURG?)

c.1120–1140?

6 *Obv.* Facing bust of bishop or abbot, holding crozier. Outer border of about nine symbols, each apparently a letter S or similar to the lower half of a letter S.
Rev. Façade of building with doorway, balcony, gable with cross, and two towers. Outer border with OOΛΛ TΛΛΛ
0·82 g.

3. 'ERAT HAEC NOSTRA MONETA'

LUCCA

Neat style

7 *Obv.* Debased OTTO monogram. +IHPERATOR.
Rev. LVCΛ cross-wise around central pellet. +ЄИRICVS.
Characteristic 'nipping' of flan.
0·93 g.

8 0·86 g.

9 1·06 g.

10 0·93 g.

11 1·03 g, 47·6 per cent silver.

12 1·01 g, 48·4 per cent silver.

Reduced weight and fineness: rough style

13 0·92 g, 39·5 per cent silver.

14 0·96 g.

15 0·93 g.

[*cont.*

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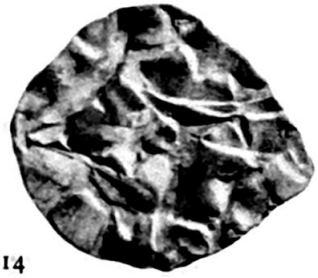

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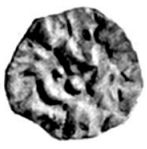

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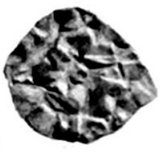


15

THE JOURNEY TO THE EAST; LUCCA

PLATE 2

Plate 1 (cont.)

1–2. Dumas, find 19, and pl. 17, 1 and 5. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), bought in Beirut, 1886.

3. Cf. B. Koch, 'Über die frühen Ennser Prägungen', *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 13 (29) (1963/4), 43–6; *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik* 22/23 (1968/9), 467. Given by Mr Norman Davies, 1966; obtained in Antalya, 1966.

4. L. von Bürkel, 'Süddeutsche Halbbracteaten, III, Der Fund von Zombor bei Essegg (Ungarn)', *Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 21 (1902), 56–64; A. Luschin v. Ebengreuth, 'Friesacher Münzfunde', *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 5 (1911), 188–210, fig. 40; H. Buchenau, 'Seltene und teils unbekannte Mittelaltermünzen', *Blätter für Münzfreunde* 48 (1913), 5399–408, fig. 37; F. Dworschak, 'Studien zum österreichischen Münzwesen des Mittelalters, II', *NZ* 59 (1926), 75–80, pl. 1, 4; F. Kiraly, 'XII. szazadi penzek Magyarorszagon', *Folia Archaeologica* 7 (1955), 127–40, pl. 34, 10. P. Grierson, 'A German Crusader's hoard of 1147 from Side (Turkey)', *Lagom, Festschrift für Peter Berghaus* (Münster, 1981), pp. 195–203, no. 10. Bought 1972; obtained at Manavgat, 1972.

5. No exact parallel is available. The obverse is similar to Bürkel, no. 5; Luschin (1911), fig. 41; Kiraly (1955), pl. 34, 11; Buchenau (1913), fig. 36; and Wielandt (1972), 25. Bought 1972; obtained in Antalya, 1972.

6. Auction R. Gaettens, Lübeck, Catalogue 22, 18 November 1966, 395; Wielandt (1972), pl. 6, 14 and 15 (different dies). No. 14 has an obv. border similar to the rev. border here. Wielandt attributes to Würzburg, 1122–7. Bought 1972; obtained in Antalya 1972.

7–10. Bought 1968, ex 'Izmir' hoard.

9. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 18, 4.

10. Ibid., pl. 18, 5.

11–12. Bought 1968, ex 'First Subak' hoard.

11. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 18, 7. Analysis: UM 1219.

12. Ibid., pl. 18, 10; UM 1222.

13. Bought 1969. Analysis: UM 1234.

14–15. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex 'Second Subak' hoard.

14. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 18, 17.

15. Ibid., pl. 18, 18.

(*Section 3, 'Erat haec nostra moneta', cont.*)

VALENCE

Obv. Cross pommée, with annulet in fourth quarter. +SAPOLLINARS.
Rev. Winged angel or eagle standing facing. VPBS VALENTIAI.

Group A: with unbarred A *in* SAPOLLINARS.

16 1·14 g.
17 1·10 g.

Group A: lettering with small serifs, and Ā *in* SĀPOLLINĀRS.

18 Similar, with dot in fourth quarter.
1·20 g, 63·3 per cent silver.
19 With annulet.
1·10 g, 60·5 per cent silver.
20 1·19 g, 66·6 per cent silver.

Group C

21 Similar, unbarred A.
1·16 g.
22 0·71 g.
23 Similar, but (?) VRBS.
1·20 g.

Group E

24 1·01 g.
25 Similar. Diamond-shaped dots for inner circle.
0·97 g.
26 Similar.
Round dots for inner circle.
1·08 g, apparently in very base metal.
27 Similar. Round dots.
0·76 g (worn).
28 Similar.
1·00 g (worn).

Group Dii

29 Similar. Diamond-shaped dots.
0·93 g, 38·9 per cent silver.
30 Similar. Diamond-shaped dots.
1·08 g.
31 Similar. Diamond-shaped dots.
0·84 g.

Group Di

32 0·92 g, 39·4 per cent silver.
33 1·02 g.

POITOU

Immobilized type: late eleventh or early twelfth century

34 *Obv.* Cross pattée. +CARLVSREXR.
Rev. MET / ALO in two lines.
1·11 g.

CHARTRES

Immobilized type: late eleventh or early twelfth century

35 *Obv.* Stylized profile right.
Rev. Cross +CARTIS CIVITAS.
1·34 g, 59·1 per cent silver.
36 1·04 g, 60·2 per cent silver.

LE MANS

Immobilized type: early twelfth century

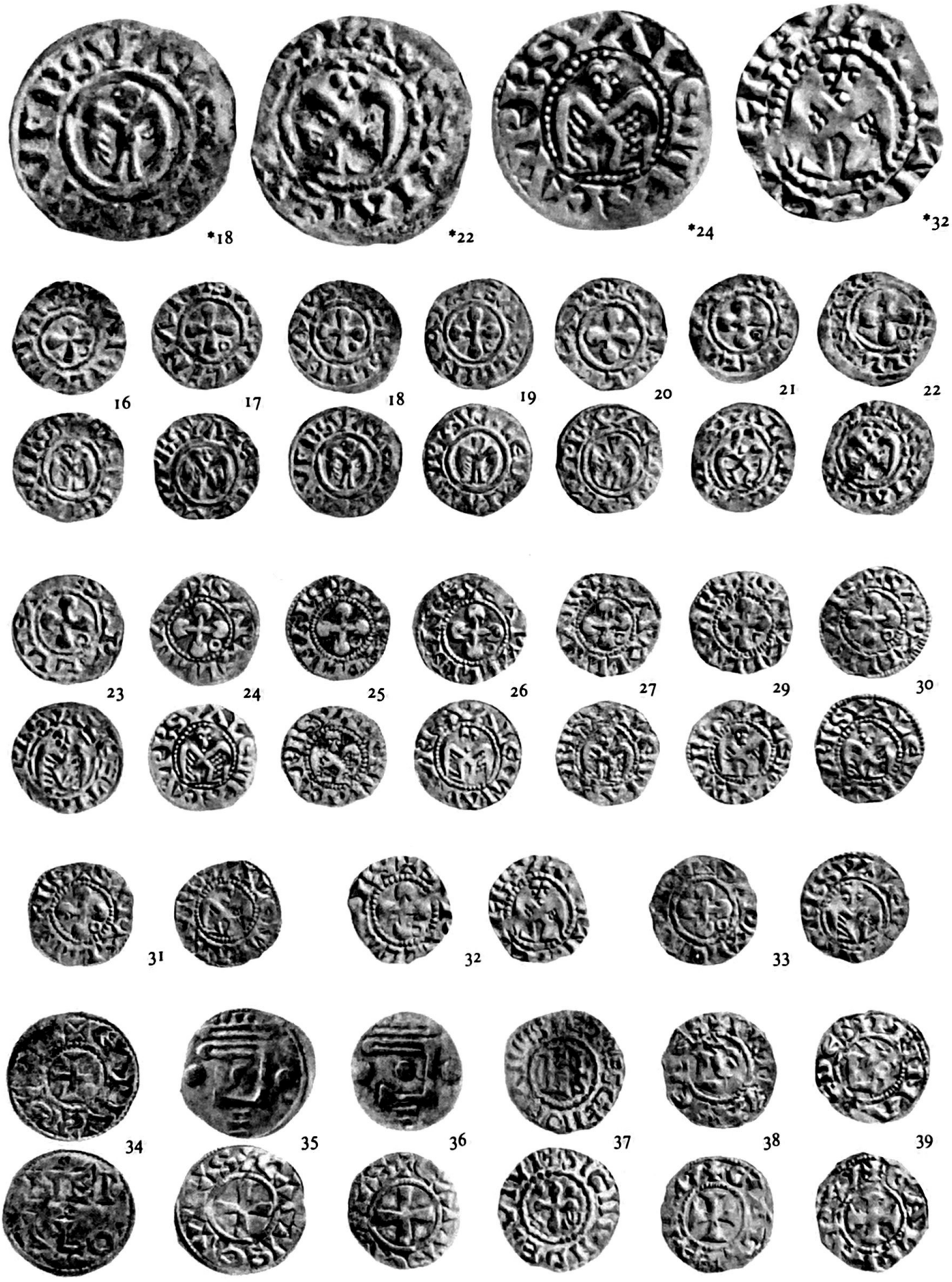
37 *Obv. Erbertus* monogram. +COHES CEHOMAHHIS.
Rev. Cross pommée with pellets in first and second quarters, and pendant A and Ω in third and fourth. +SIGNVM DEI VIVI.
1·10 g.

LYON

Anonymous issues, archbishop and chapter

38 *Obv.* L⁻G +PRIMA SEDES.
Rev. Cross +GALLIARV.
1·24 g.
39 1·10 g.

16–17, 21–3. Bought 1968, ex 'Izmir' hoard.
16. P.A. 4686; *HBN* 22/23, pl. 17, 4.
17. Ibid., pl. 17, 6.
18–20. Bought 1968, ex 'First Subak' hoard.
18. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 17, 1. Analysis: UM 1223.
19. Ibid., pl. 17, 2; UM 1224.
20. Ibid., pl. 17, 3; UM 1228.
21. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 17, 9.
22. Ibid., pl. 17, 10.
23. Ibid., pl. 17, 11.
24–6, 30–1, 33. Bought 1967/68, ex Aleppo hoard.
24. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 17, 17.
26. Ibid., pl. 17, 18.
27–8. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), bought Beirut, 1886.
29. Bought 1968, ex 'Second Subak' hoard. Analysis: UM 1238.
32. Bought 1968, ex 'Second Subak' hoard; UM 1236.
34. P.A. 2428, etc.; *HBN* 22/23, pl. 19, 2. Bought 1968, ex 'Izmir' hoard.
35–7. Bought 1968, ex 'First Subak' hoard.
35. P.A. 1731; *HBN* 22/23, pl. 19, 3. Analysis: UM 2659.
36. Ibid., pl. 19, 4. UM 2660.
37. *HBN* 22/23, pl. 19, 5.
38. P.A. 5028; *HBN* 22/23, pl. 19, 10. Bought 1967, ex Aleppo hoard.
39. Bought 1967.



VALENCE; OTHER EARLY CURRENCIES

PLATE 3

4. ANTIOCHENE COPPERS, *c.*1100–30

BOHEMUND I, 1098–1104

40 *Obv.* Bust of St. Peter, nimbate, with curly hair and short, curly beard. His right hand is held in blessing, and with the left he holds a cross. [O Π]
Rev. The Cross as the Tree of Life, B H M T in angles. [Traces of overstriking, perhaps on a Seljukid coin of Antioch, since the coin is of the distinctive polygonal fabric of that series.]
4·80 g. ↗

TANCRED, 1104–12

First Type

41 *Obv.* Bust of St. Peter. O/ΠЄ.
Rev. Careful lettering. ✝/KЄBOI/ΘH [. . .
6·64 g. ↘ (Cast flan, with edges showing little deformation.)

42 *Obv.* Bust of St. Peter, nimbate, with curly hair and short, curly beard. He holds (?) a scroll left, and long cross right. [OΠ]Є.
Rev. [✝]/KЄ[BOI]/ΘHTO[ΔV]/ΛOCOV[T]/ANHRI.
3·75 g. ↑

43 Similar.
4·66 g. ↓

Second type

44 *Obv.* Bearded bust of Tancred, wearing 'turban', and (?) chain armour, and holding raised sword. [Traces of rev. of first type: ANH].
Rev. The Cross as the Tree of Life, with $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ NI KA in angles.
3·08 g. ↘

Third type

45 *Obv.* Standing figure of St. Peter, nimbate, with right hand raised, and cross held in left. To left, [S]PE the P in the form ⸿, and the E possibly ET ligate. To right, XΔ.
Rev. Cross, with ∂ S F T in angles, the F and T each with an extra bar.
2·98 g. ↓

46 Similar, with obv. inscription to right apparently PETRVS monogram (cf. Schlumberger pl. 19, 1). (Clear traces on both sides of Tancred's second, 'turbaned bust' type, struck obv. to rev.)
3·25 g. ↑

47 Similar, with *obv.* St. Peter's right arm held out horizontally, and OP above and below.
Rev. Đ S F [T]. (Clear traces on both sides of Tancred's 'turbaned bust' type, obv. to obv.)
3·60 g. ↓

Fourth type

48 *Obv.* Nimbate bust of Christ $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$.
Rev. The Cross as the Tree of Life, with TA NK P H in angles.
6·53 g. ↑

49 Similar.
2·52 g. (has been pierced). ↘

50 Similar.
3·42 g. ↓

ROGER, 1112–19

First type

51 *Obv.* Standing figure of Christ, with hand raised in blessing. $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$ ЄMMA [N$\widehat{O}$VHA].
Rev. Cross $\overline{DNE}$ $\overline{SAL}$ $\overline{FT}$ $\overline{RO}$. (Overstruck on a reverse with floriated cross.)
3·19 g. ↓

52 Similar. (The *rev.* can be seen to be overstruck twice, on a nimbate bust, belonging presumably to Tancred's fourth type, which in turn is on his third type, with standing St. Peter. Traces of the cross and a letter (?) F of that type can be seen on the obv.)
3·78 g. ↑

40. Schlumberger pl. 2, 4–5. Bought 1982.
41–3. Schlumberger pl. 2, 6. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.
44. Schlumberger pl. 2, 7. Given by Mr Roberto Pesant, 1982. Pesant, third sub-variety with triangular outline for beard.
45. Schlumberger pl. 5, 1–2. Bought 1982.
46–7. Id. Bought 1982, ex Stewart coll.
48–50. Schlumberger pl. 2, 8. Bought 1982.
51–2. Schlumberger pl. 2, 10.
51. Bought 1974.
52. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean, ex Stewart coll., ex D. Raymond, 1948.

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ANTIOCHENE COPPERS

PLATE 4

Second type

53 *Obv.* The Mother of God standing *orans*, nimbate, in cloak with ornamental border. [MH ΘV].
Rev. KEB[OHΘ]/EITW[CW]/ΔOVΛW[P]/OT[ ].
3·08 g. ↑

54 Similar. (On obv. to r., traces of nimbate head of Christ and XC from Roger's first type.)
2·92 g. ↙

Third type

55 *Obv.* St. George, nimbate, on horseback, spearing dragon.
Rev. POT3ЄP/ΠPIΓKΠC/[ ]. (Overstruck.)
7·62 g. ↑ (Cast flan.)

56 Similar. (Rev. overstruck on Tancred's fourth type: TA.)
3·37 g. ↑

57 Similar. O to left. (*Obv.* overstruck on the preceding type of Roger, with Mother of God orans: traces of ΘЄ/Δ/OT in three lines).
Rev. Severely blundered inscription, in which one can recognize (retrograde) characters corresponding with POT3ЄP/ΠPIΓKΠ/[ ]ANTI.
3·68 g. ↘

5. EDESSENE COPPERS, *c.*1098–1118

BALDWIN II, 1100–18

Heavy folles, Porteous Class 4

58 *Obv.* [B]AA[Δ]/OV[INO]/[KOMH] in three lines. (Overstruck on Richard Class 2 rev. PIKAP/ΔW and perhaps on Richard Class 1 rev. .../ΔW.)
Rev. Broad cross potent with globules at the ends and wedges in the angles. (Overstruck probably on Richard Class 3 obv. and at least one other type.)
8·07 g.

BALDWIN II (AFTER *c.*1110)

Light folles

(1a) *With circular legend, and* rev., *Cross*

59 *Obv.* The Count in conical helmet and chain-armour, standing left, with sheathed sword at hip, holds small (globus) cruciger. BAΓΔOVINVS [Δ]OVΛOCTAV.
Rev. Floriated cross with rays at centre and scroll at foot.
4·70 g. ↓

(1b) *With columnar legend, and* rev., *Cross*

60 *Obv.* As no. 2 [ ]Δ/O[ ].
Rev. Cross with pellets at ends of arms and in angles, and scroll at foot.
3·69 g. ↑

(2) *With* rev., BAΔN *around small cross*

61 *Obv.* The Count in chain-armour and (?) helmet, standing facing, holds long cross to left and kite-shaped shield to right. The shield appears to be dimidiated, with five roundels, in the (left) dexter half. BAΓ to left. (Traces of undertype.)
Rev. BH[Δ]N around small cross.
3·57 g. ↑

62 *Obv.* Similar. Conical helmet. B/A to left, (?) Γ/Δ to right.
Rev. BH[Δ]N around small cross pommée. (Overstruck on a floriated cross, ? cf. Schlumberger, pl. 1, 7 or 9.)
2·51 g. ↓

(3) *With bust of Christ*

63 *Obv.* The Count in chain armour and conical helmet, standing facing, holds sword raised to left, and cross to right. B to upper left, Δ to lower left.
Rev. Nimbate bust of bearded Christ.
4·45 g. ↑

64 Similar.
3·68 g. ↙

65 *Obv.* Similar.
Rev. Similar. (Traces of undertype.)
4·06 g. ↑

53–4. Schlumberger, pl. 2, 11.
53. Bought 1976.
54. Bought 1982, ex Stewart coll., ex Lockett sale, 3, 164, ex Grantley 4245.
55–7. Schlumberger, pl. 2, 13.
55. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.
56. Given by P. Grierson, 1964.
57. Bought 1982.
58. Porteous 41. Bought 1974.
59. Schlumberger, pl. 1, 7. Ancien fonds.
60. Schlumberger, pl. 1, 8. Christ Church.
61–2. Schlumberger, pl. 1, 10–11. Bought 1974.
63. Schlumberger, pl. 1, 12. Bought 1982.
64–5. Id. Christ Church.

53 54 55 56 57 *57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 *63

ANTIOCHENE AND EDESSENE COPPERS

PLATE 9

6. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: BEZANTS

Bezants of four-fifths gold: Acre mint?

66 3·80 g.
67 3·86 g.
68 3·56 g.
69 3·66 g.
70 In the centre of the reverse, the separated dots retain a crescent shape.
3·74 g.
71 3·67 g. Fresh condition.
72 Points on *ḍād* and *ṣād*.
3·72 g. Very fresh condition.
73 3·52 g.
74 3·71 g.

Bezants of two-thirds gold: Acre mint

75 3·02 g.

Bezants with Christian legends: Acre mint

76 2·96 g.
77 3·12 g.

66. Balog and Yvon 25/7. Bought 1958.
67–72. A parcel of six coins thought to be from a hoard.
67–71. Bought 1982 from Mr C. H. Subak.
67. BY 25/7. From the same rev. die as a coin in the el-Qubeibeh hoard, *NC* (1975), pl. 19, 4.
68. BY 25/7. From the same dies as *NC* (1975), pl. 19, 4. Rusty dies?
69. BY 25/7. From the same obv. die as *NC* (1975), pl. 19, 4.
70. BY 27c.
71. BY 25/7.
72. Id. Given by Mr C. H. Subak, 1982.
73–4. BY 27d. Bought 1982 from Messrs A. H. Baldwin. From a parcel of second-phase coins, among which these appeared to be the latest.
75. Cf. BY 30. Bought 1975 ex Stewart coll. (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Grantley 4479.
76. BY 40. Bought 1975 ex Stewart coll. (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Grantley 4480.
77. Id. Bought 1960, ex W. Sinkler sale 219.

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*66 *75 *77

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7. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: DENIERS AND OBOLES

BALDWIN III, 1143–63
(or Baldwin II and successors?)

'Rough' series

Lettering series 1

78 *Obv.* Cross pattée. ✠RЄX BAlƆVINVS.
Rev. Tower of David. ✠ЄhIЄRVSALЄH.
0·97 g.

79 Similar, but ✠ЄbIЄRVSALЄI.
1·09 g.

Lettering series 2

80 Similar, but Tower of David with elaborate masonry and glacis.
0·80 g.

Lettering series 2, var.

81 Similar, but with no initial stops, and with initial cross on rev. The As have a double bar and the Es have a pronounced wedge-shaped central bar. Elaborate castle with rounded battlements and glacis.
0·89 g. (pierced). 31·7 per cent silver.

Lettering series 3, (a) *neat coins*

82 1·00 g (pierced). 31·2 per cent silver.
82A 1·06 g.

Lettering series 3, (b) *intermediate*

83 0·93 g. 33·4 per cent silver.

Lettering series 3, (c) *late style*

84 0·91 g. 27·6 per cent silver.
84A 0·96 g.

Oboles. (*Lettering series 3?*)

85 0·45 g.
86 0·49 g.

'Smooth' series

Group 2

87 0·73 g. 34·4 per cent silver.

Group 3

88 0·83 g. 31·3 per cent silver.
89 0·90 g. 33·4 per cent silver.
89A 1·04 g.

Group 4

90 0·63 g. 32·0 per cent silver.
91 0·71 g. 31·4 per cent silver.
92 0·72 g. 40·0 per cent silver (corroded).

Group 5

92A 1·12 g.

Oboles. (*Group 5?*)

93 0·48 g.
94 0·41 g. 31·9 per cent silver.

Contemporary counterfeit

95 Blundered legends. Base metal.

AMAURY, 1163–74
and successors to *c.*1219

Obv. Cross pattée. AMALRICVS RЄX.
Rev. Church of the Resurrection. ✠DЄIЄRVSALЄM.

Coins reading RЄX⁘ (*three annulets*)

96 With A on obv. and rev.
0·76 g.

Coins reading RЄX⁚ (*two annulets*)

97 A on obv. and rev.
0·81 g (pierced). 30·9 per cent silver.
98 With A on obv. and rev. Obole.
0·44 g.
99 With A on obv. and rev. Obole.
0·39 g.

Coins reading RЄX· (*one annulet*)

100 Double-barred A on obv.
0·85 g.
101 0·91 g.
102 1·05 g. 31·8 per cent silver.
103 Double-barred A on obv.
0·99 g. 31·3 per cent silver.
104 0·92 g (pierced). 28·2 per cent silver.
105 A with dot at point of chevron. Obole.
0·37 g.

Coin reading RЄX· (*one dot*)

106 A with dot at point of chevron. S with three dots superimposed. The symbols in the second and third quarters are bold dots with a minute depression in the centre of each (from the same punch?).
0·81 g.

Coins apparently reading RЄX· (*one dot*)

107 0·86 g. 33·6 per cent silver.
108 A with dot at point of chevron.
0·99 g.
109 Double-barred A on obv. and rev.
0·91 g. 31·6 per cent silver.
110 Obole.
0·34 g.

[*cont.*

*78 *86

78 79 81 82A 84A 85 86

87 89A 91 92A 93 94 95

96 99 100 105 106 108 115

*99 *106

THE LATIN KINGDOM: DENIERS AND OBOLES

PLATE 7

Plate 6 (cont.)

Coins reading RЄX

111 A with small dot at point of chevron.
0·83 g. (pierced). 29·9 per cent silver.

112 Similar, with dot also on chevron of M.
1·04 g. 32·0 per cent silver.

113 1·03 g. 30·7 per cent silver.

114 Dotted chevrons.
0·77 g. 32·4 per cent silver.

Coin with annulet in first and fourth quarters

115 Quadruple and triple-barred As on rev.
0·83 g.

78–85. Cf. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 22.
78. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Bourgey hoard.
79. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980.
80. Bought 1982.
81. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), bought in Beirut, 1886. Analysis: UM 634.
82. Given by Sir C. Warren, 1888. UM 629.
82A. Bought 1968, ex Bourgey hoard.
83. Given by Professor F. Ll. Griffith, 1921. UM 633.
84. Ancien fonds. UM 630.
84A. Bought 1968, ex Bourgey hoard.
85–6. Schlumberger —.
85. Bought 1980.
86. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Bourgey hoard.
87–92A. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 21.
87. Ancien fonds. Analysis: UM 636.
88. Given by Sir C. Warren, 1888. UM 635.
89. Ancien fonds. UM 632.
89A. Bought 1968, ex Bourgey hoard.
90. E. S. Bouchier bequest, 1930. UM 639.
91. Ancien fonds. UM 638.
92. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, *c.*1890. UM 637.
92A. Bought 1968, ex Bourgey hoard.
93–4. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 24.
93. Bought 1975, ex Stewart coll.
94. Ancien fonds (Bodleian Library). UM 640.
95. Cf. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 23. Bought 1968, ex Bourgey hoard.
96–118. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 19–20.
96. Given by Capt. C. J. Sabine, 1982.
97. From Nablous. UM 624.
98–100. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
101. H. de S. Shortt bequest, 1975.
97, 102–3. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), 1886.
102. From the Mount of Olives. Analysis: UM 617.
103. From Samaria. UM 619.
104. Given by Sir C. Warren, n.d. UM 620.
105. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
106. Given by Capt. C. J. Sabine, 1982.
107–8. Given by the Revd. G. T. Chester, n.d.
107. Analysis: UM 622.
109. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892. UM 621.
110. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
111. Ancien fonds. UM 623.
112. E. S. Bouchier bequest, 1930. UM 618.
113. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, n.d. UM 616.
114–16, 118. Ancien fonds (Bodleian Library). UM 625, 627, —.
115. Given by Capt. C. J. Sabine, 1982.

(*Section 7, Deniers of the Latin Kingdom, cont.*)

Clipped specimens

116 Double-barred A.
0·63 g. (pierced). 32·1 per cent silver.

Coins on the half-gramme weight-standard?

117 Unbarred A on rev. Obole.
0·28 g. 32·3 per cent silver.

Contemporary counterfeit?

118 0·95 g.

GUY OF LUSIGNAN, 1186–92

119 *Obv.* Crowned facing head, with pellet to each side. +REXGUIDOD.
Rev. Building with oculus. +EIERUSALEM.
1·30 g.

HENRY OF CHAMPAGNE, 1192–7

120 *Obv.* Cross pattée with annulet in each angle. +COMESHENRICVS.
Rev. Fleur de lis +PVGESDACCOH.
1·14 g.

121 0·92 g.

JOHN OF BRIENNE, AFTER 1219
Acre mint?

122 *Obv.* +IOhES:REX:.
Rev. +DAMIATA.
0·59 g.

ANONYMOUS ROYAL COINAGE
(?) Commune of Acre, 1231–43

123 *Obv.* Double cross, with A Ω in angles. MOMETAREGIS.
Rev. Cross pattée. +REXIERNLM.
0·60 g.

ANONYMOUS (?) ROYAL OR PATRIARCHAL COINAGE

124 *Obv.* Double cross on pedestal, with (?) entrance below. Palms, and X and +, to left and right.
Rev. Cross pattée. +:CRVCIS (retrograde).
1·16 g.

8. EGYPT, 1219–21

JOHN OF BRIENNE, 1210–25

125 *Obv.* Facing (?) crowned head. +IOHANNESREX.
Rev. Cross pattée, annulets in second and third quarters. +DAMIETA.
0·53 g.

9. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: BARONIAL COINAGES

BEIRUT

RAYMOND OF TRIPOLI, 1184–6?

126 *Obv.* T·V·R·R·I·S·.
Rev. +D·A·V·I·T·.
0·92 g.

JOHN I OF IBELIN, *c.*1200–36

127 *Obv.* +IOhSDEIBELINO.
Rev. +CIVITASBERITI.
0·47 g.

128 *Obv.* +IOhANNES.
Rev. +DEBERITI.
0·61 g.

SIDON

RAYNALD, *c.*1170–*c.*1204
(before 1187)

129 *Obv.* +RENALDVS.
Rev. +SYDONIA.
1·18 g.

BALIAN, 1229–40

130 *Obv.* +·D·E·N·I·E·R·.
Rev. +·D·E:S·E·E·T·E·.
0·68 g.

131 0·62 g.

TYRE

JOHN OF MONTFORT, 1270–83

132 *Obv.* +IOhSIRE.
Rev. +DESVR.
1·51 g.

[*cont.*

116 117 119 120 122 123 124

*123 *122 *124

125 126 127 128 129 130 132

*125 *126 *128 *130

THE LATIN KINGDOM; EGYPT; BARONIAL COINAGES

PLATE 8

Plate 7 (cont.)

117. Given by Sir C. Warren, n.d. UM 628.

119. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 25. Obtained by exchange, 1969, ex A. P. di Cesnola collection (formed in Cyprus, 1873-9).

120-1. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 28. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

122. Cox, p. 52, no. 1; Schlumberger, pl. 3, 31. Bought 1975, ex Stewart coll. (Friends of the Ashmolean); given to Professor Stewart by Miss Cox, 1949, from the Tripoli hoard.

123. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 27. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.

124. Schlumberger, pl. 19, 3. Bought 1982.

125. Schlumberger, pl. 20, 4. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll. Given to Professor Stewart by Miss Cox, from the Tripoli hoard.

126. Schlumberger, pl. 3, 26. Given by A. C. Kay, 1912.

127-8. Bought 1975, ex Stewart coll. (Friends of the Ashmolean); given to Professor Stewart by Miss Cox, 1949, from the Tripoli hoard.

127. Cox, pp. 53 f., no. 4.

128. Ibid., no. 1; Schlumberger, pl. 5, 10.

129-31. Bought 1975, ex Stewart coll. (Friends of the Ashmolean).

129. Schlumberger, pl. 5, 3.

130-1. Ibid., 8.

132. Ibid., 15. Bought 1977.

10. IMITATIVE DIRHAMS AND HALF-DIRHAMS

A. In the name of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī

133 Half-dirham, Ḥalab, AH 622.
1·39 g.

134 Similar, AH 625.
1·50 g.

C. In the name of al-Sāliḥ Ismāʿīl

135 Dirham, Type I? (but date 643?)
2·94 g.

136 Dirham, with cross at centre of obverse.
2·76 g. (pierced).

137 Dirham, Type V (with AD date).
2·40 g.

138 Half-dirham, Type III (with AD date).
1·81 g.

139 Dirham, variety and date illegible, but Type V or VI.
2·46 g.

140 Similar. Type V or VI.
2·21 g.

11. THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: CUT GOLD

A. Bilingual piece (see also no. 225)

141 *Obv.* RЄI or R:I. Empty inner circle, in style of a dinar or bezant.
Rev. Unseriffed feet of (?) pseudo-Kufic characters; empty inner circle. (?) Kufic character in field.
0·43 g.

B. Problematic pieces with significant legend

142 *Obv.* +RA. Grid in multifoil. Double linear border, boldly engraved. (The R is clear, and cannot possibly be a B. The upper bar of the A is thick.)
Rev. VITA. Hexagram. Double linear border, with relatively wide space between. (*Civitas* ?)
0·81 g.

143 *Obv.* L·ə·. Grid. Widely spaced double linear border. (The royal name, *Baldvinus*, seems here to be on the same side as the grid in octafoil, whereas it is normally on the other side.)
Rev. IMX. Hexagram. (The hexagram pattern is confused by shadowing of the octafoil from the obv. The M has horizontal double bars above and below a central annulet, as on deniers of Baldwin III.)
0·71 g.

144 *Obv.* NV[S] with annulet on second stroke of V. Hexagram.
Rev. VI. Grid. Annulet on second stroke of V. (Similar in style to no. 142.)
0·39 g.

145 *Obv.* ·E·D. Hexagram. (Not Baldwin or Amaury?)
Rev. IE[R]. Grid.
0·82 g.

C. Standard design: six-pointed star/nine-square grid in octafoil, probably with the name of Baldwin or Amaury

146 *Obv.* Central hexagon with large central dot and (six) small dots around.
Rev. S'[A]. Grid.
1·05 g.

147 *Obv.* [E]X.
Rev. N'[X]. (X used as initial cross?)
1·01 g.

148 *Obv.* Hexagram, cf. nos. 6–7.
Rev. Grid.
0·32 g.

149 *Obv.* ·V·.
Rev. [R]V[S].
0·51 g.

150 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. [A·L·M]. Grid.
1·36 g.

151 *Obv.* Hexagram, with annulets around central pellet.
Rev. Grid.
0·73 g.

152 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid, with quincunx at centre.
0·89 g.

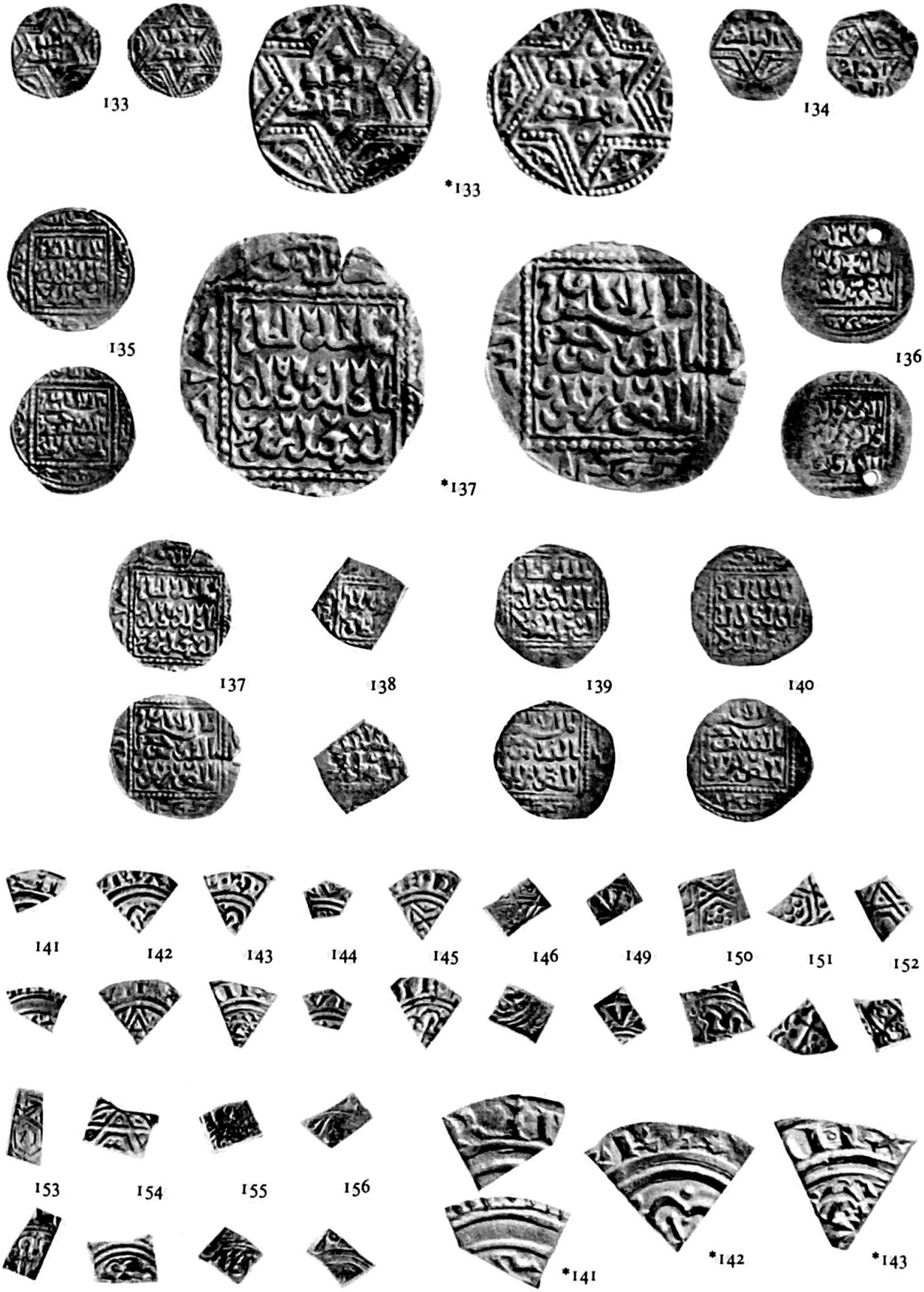
153 *Obv.* Cf. no. 146.
Rev. L[Є].
0·94 g.

154 *Obv.* Hexagram, with annulets in the triangles.
Rev. [C]. Grid.
1·05 g.

155 *Obv.* V·S. Hexagram. Double-struck.
Rev. Grid.
0·73 g.

156 *Obv.* X composed of four wedges? Minute dots in and between triangles.
Rev. V·S.
0·69 g.

[*cont.*



IMITATIVE DIRHAMS; CUT GOLD

(*Section 11, Cut gold, cont.*)

157 Similar in style to no. 155.
Rev. Annulets linking pellets.
0·63 g.

158 Similar.
Rev. Grid with annulet at centre, and small pellets or alternatively none between terminal knobs.
0·72 g.

159 *Obv.* Large annulet at centre, no other dots.
Rev. R·V[·L].
0·74 g.

160 *Obv.* M·Ā.
Rev. ·Ā.
0·34 g.

161 *Obv.* (or *rev.*) [C]·I·[R]. (The last letter is not C and almost certainly not N.)
Rev. (or *obv.*) ·M (preceded by E?).
0·37 g.

162 *Obv.* ĀMĀ. Hexagram.
Rev. ·Ā·L. Grid.
0·63 g.

163 *Obv.* (or *rev.*) L·R (or E·R ?). Hexagram.
Rev. (or *obv.*) Grid. Partial cut parallel to one edge.
0·54 g.

164 *Obv.* ĀLə (Ā ornamented with annulets). Hexagram.
Rev. L·E·M. Grid.
0·23 g.

165 *Obv.* RI·C. Hexagram.
Rev. X·I. Grid.
0·44 g.

166 *Obv.* C·V.
Rev. ·[M].
0·24 g.

167 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid.
0·18 g.

168 *Obv.* X. Hexagram, cf. no. 162.
Rev. Ā. Grid, cf. no. 156.

169 *Obv.* [C]. Hexagram, with minute dots around large pellet in centre.
Rev. [S]. Grid.
0·44 g.

170 *Obv.* ·X·[A]. Hexagram.
Rev. E. Grid.
0·67 g.

171 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid, with annulet knobs.
0·49 g.

172 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid.
0·38 g.

173 Similar.
1·08 g.

174 *Obv.* E.X. Hexagram.
Rev. I2. Uncertain pattern.
0·41 g.

175 *Obv.* [ə].
Rev. E·.
0·19 g.

176 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid.
0·41 g.

177 *Obv.* Ā·M·[Ā]. Hexagram.
Rev. [L]·E·M·. Grid with annulet terminals, and annulets between.
1·00 g.

178 *Obv.* ·S·D. Hexagram. (The second letter seems too large to be B. One might guess at *de*.)
Rev. M·[X]. Grid.
0·58 g.

179 Very similar.
0·32 g.

180 *Obv.* Hexagram encloses annulet; minute dots between inner and outer hexagon, cf. nos. 177–8.
Rev. Grid.
0·49 g.

181 *Obv.* V. Hexagram.
Rev. S·[Ā].
0·33 g.

182 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid.
0·22 g.

183 *Obv.* Hexagram. [Є].
Rev. :I·[II].
0·32 g.

184 *Obv.* Hexagram, with small annulet at centre.
Rev. Grid.
0·35 g.

185 *Obv.* Hexagram, with seven dots.
Rev. Grid?
0·52 g.

186 *Obv.* Ā·. (Double-barred Ā, followed by uncertain letter with fish-tail serif at foot.)
Rev. E·. (Followed by uncertain letter with fish-tail serif at foot.) Grid?
0·25 g.

187 *Obv.* Hexagram.
Rev. Grid.
0·49 g.

188 Similar.
0·37 g.

189 Similar.
0·47 g.

190 Similar.
0·38 g.

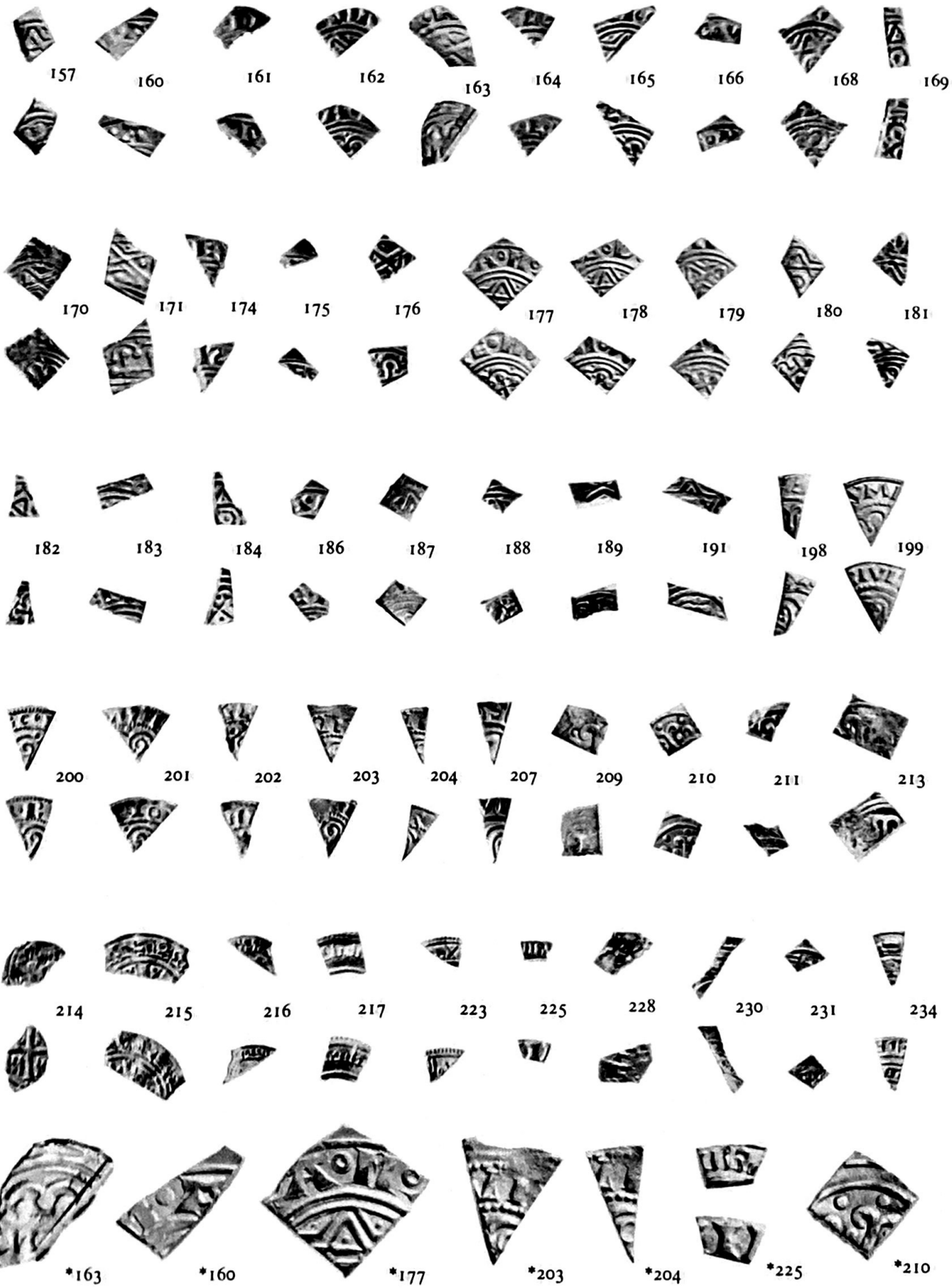
191 Similar.
0·37 g.

192–7 Probably similar (weakly struck).
0·78, 0·70, 0·49, 0·34, 0·30, 0·24 g.

D. Design includes shield-like element enclosing three dots

198 *Obv.* [VM]. Grid (*Signum Baldvini regis*?).
Rev. Shield-shaped ornament with three dots, within segment of multifoil.
0·37 g.

[*cont.*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*225
*210

CUT GOLD

PLATE 10

Plate 9 (cont.)

E. Multifoil/multifoil design with inner dotted border

199 *Obv.* VM[I]. Grid. Dotted inner but linear outer border.
Rev. CIVI. Aster pattern enclosing trefoil ornament.
0·56 g.

F. Aster type: inner and outer dotted borders

200 *Obv.* [Є]GI. Aster.
Rev. [A]ꟻR. Aster.
0·52 g.

201 *Obv.* [VD]M. Aster.
Rev. N•.
0·42 g.

202 *Obv.* GI.
Rev. N[I].
0·34 g.

203 *Obv.* (or *rev.*) VI.
Rev. (or *obv.*) I. (The character preceding the I appears to have three serifs like an E.)
0·29 g.

204 *Rev.* [A].
0·15 g.

205 *Obv.* (or *rev.*) [Є retrograde?]
0·18 g.

206 *Obv.* (or *rev.*) M[ƨ].
Rev. (or *obv.*) M.
0·34 g.

G. Aster type: linear inner border

207 *Obv.* [+]S. Aster?
Rev. VI. Aster.
0·30 g.

208 *Obv.* [X]. Aster.
Rev. ⁞I. Aster.
0·30 g.

H. Cross moline types

209 *Obv.* and *rev.* Cross moline.
0·83 g.

210 Similar, with dots in angles of cross and eight dots around.
0·47 g.

211 Similar.
0·42 g.

212 Similar.
0·31 g.

213 Similar, with crescents in angles of cross on one side, and terminals of cross forming continuous wavy outline on the other side.
1·39 g., base gold.

I. Fragment of Sicilian tari

214 0·33 g.

J. Fragments of Islamic dinars, etc.

215 0·78 g.
216 0·31 g.
217 0·29 g.
218 0·31 g.
219 0·20 g.
220 0·28 g.
221 0·22 g.
222 0·14 g.
223 0·17 g.
224 0·16 g.
225 0·12 g.
226 0·43 g.
227 0·14 g.
228 0·28 g.
229 0·23 g.
230 0·22 g.
231 0·21 g.
232 0·12 g.
233 0·18 g.
234 0·18 g.

159, 161–2, 164–70, 172–6, 180–97, 200–3, 205, 207–34. Bought 1980.

157–8, 160, 163, 171, 177–9, 198–9, 204, 206. Bought 1979.

158. Cf. Brady 43, 79.

159. Cf. Brady 68.

160. Cf. Miles, pl. 43, 19.

162. Cf. Brady 10.

164. Cf. Brady 3 (A with annulets).

165. Cf. Brady 49; Miles, pl. 43, 8.

177. Cf. Brady 9–11. From the same rev. die as no. 178.

178. From the same rev. die as no. 177.

183. Cf. Brady 6.

198. Cf. Brady 65 (perhaps even the same die).

203. From the same obv. die as no. 204. The V has an extra horizontal stroke at the foot.

204. From the same obv. die as no. 203.

12. ANTIOCH. BILLON DENIERS

BARE-HEAD DENIERS

RAYMOND OF POITIERS, 1136–49

235 *Obv.* Bare head right. Truncation breaks inner circle. +RAIMVNDVS.
Rev. Cross pattée. +ANTIOCHIE.
1·00 g. 62–7 per cent silver.

236 *Obv.* Similar, with A.
Rev. Very similar.
0·97 g. 67–70 per cent silver.

Contemporary counterfeit

237 Obv. +RHIMVIIDVS.
Rev. +ANTIOCHIE.
0·84 g. Copper-based alloy containing no silver.

BOHEMUND III, 1149–63

Class A

238 *Obv.* Bare head right, mostly in the left half of the field. +BOAMVNDVS.
Rev. Cross pattée. +ANTIOCHIA.
0·79 g. 38·9 per cent silver.

239 Similar portrait with sharply angled forehead, and *rev.* with ⊙.
0·76 g. 37·5 per cent silver.

240 Similar, with longer jaw, and *obv.* ⊙ and double-barred N, and *rev.* ⊙.
0·75 g. 38·2 per cent silver.

241 0·77 g. 35·3 per cent silver.

242 Similar, with ⊙ and double-barred N.
1·00 g.

Class B

243 Similar, with *rev.*, pellet in first quarter.
0·76 g. 32·2 per cent silver.

244 0·94 g.

245 Similar, with *rev.*, annulet in first quarter.
0·97 g.

Class C

246 Similar, with plain rev.
0·83 g.

247 Similar, with *rev.*, annulet in first quarter.
0·74 g. 37·5 per cent silver.

248 Similar, with *rev.*, dot in third quarter.
1·05 g.

Class D

249 Similar, with plain rev.
0·73 g.

Class E

250 Similar, with crude lettering and annulet pointing downwards.
0·74 g.

251 Similar, with *obv.*, +BOAHVИDVS (double-barred И), crescent on neck, pointing upwards, and *rev.*, double-barred И and ⊙.
0·93 g.

HELMET DENIERS

(*See Fig. 12 (p. 35 above) for the characteristic letter-forms of the classes*)

Class A

252 *Rev.* Annulet in *first* quarter. 0·95 g. 30·1 per cent silver.

253 Plain C. 0·88 g.

254 *Rev.* with irregular M, plain C, and double-barred N (?). 1·03 g.

Class A/B mule?

255 *Obv.* A with annulets; six-pointed star in field.
Rev. A with dots, M, plain C, И.
1·01 g.

235–7. Schlumberger, pl. 2, 17.
235. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982. Analysis: UM 189/190.
236. Bought 1968, ex Subak hoard (*NC* 1969, p. 249), UM 191/2 = 2317.
237. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982. UM 195/6.
238–51. Schlumberger, pl. 2, 20.
238. Bought 1968, ex Subak hoard (*NC* 1979), UM 1200.
239. Bought 1967, ex Aleppo hoard. UM 792.
240. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Subak hoard. UM 1199.
241. Bought 1968, ex Subak hoard. UM 1201.
242. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Subak hoard.
243. Bought 1967, ex Aleppo hoard. UM 793.
244–6, 248. Bought 1968, ex Subak hoard.
247. Given by Mr C. H. Wolfe, 1968. UM 791.
249. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.
250. Given by Mr R. Pesant, 1973, ex Bedoukian, ex Ras Shamra hoard.
251. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Pesant coll.
252. Bought 1967, ex Aleppo hoard. UM 796.
253–4. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
253. From Stewart hoard, no. 1 (*HBN* 27/29).
254. Not from the hoard; ex Lockett 3, 665, ex Grantley 4246.
255. Bought 1980.

*242 *254 *255

235 236 237 238 239 240 241

242 243 244 245 246 247 248

249 250 251 252 253 254 255

ANTIOCH: BARE HEAD DENIERS; HELMET DENIERS, CLASS A

PLATE 11

(*Section 12, Helmet deniers of Antioch, cont.*)

Class B

256 *Obv.* with reversed D in BOAMVDHVS.
0·99 g.

257 *Obv.* with H. *Rev.* H, plain C, H.
0·99 g.

Class B/C imitations? (later in date?)

258 *Obv.* A with annulets.
Chain armour shown with too few crescents.
Rev. A with dots, double-barred N, dotted C.
0·98 g.

259 *Obv.* +BA, etc., A with annulets, blundered N and S. Cf. no. 260.
Rev. +AM, etc., A with dots, open C.
1·0 g.

260 *Obv.* +BO·A·IIVIIDVS. Cf. no. 259.
Rev. +AN, etc. First A dotted, final A with annulets.
1·01 g.

Class C

261 *Obv.* Bust in style of Class B.
Rev. Stops on either side of initial cross, ·+·.
0·98 g.

262 *Obv.* Bust in style of Class B.
Rev. Variant b. Deep crescent in first quarter.
0·87 g.

263 *Obv.* Spreading bust. Deep crescent to left.
Rev. Variant c. T with deep serifs. Deep crescent in first quarter.
1·00 g.

264 0·88 g.

265 Similar to no. 262, but with more spreading bust. Variant b.
0·86 g.

266 0·96 g.

267 *Obv.* Bust of more normal outline. Dotted O.
Rev. ·+·.
1·01 g.

268 Similar, but normal rev.
0·93 g.

269 Similar, narrower bust, and rougher, more prominently seriffed lettering.
1·03 g.

270 Similar, rev. with ·+·.
0·99 g., 26·2 per cent silver.

271 Similar, rev. with ·+.
1·05 g.

272 Similar, but normal rev.
0·93 g.

Class C/D mule

273 *Obv.* A with annulets.
Rev. four-dot A.
1·02 g.

Class D

274 1·06 g. 25·5 per cent silver.

275 *Obv.* with O and double-barred N.
1·12 g.

Class E/D mule?

276 0·87 g.

Class E

277 *Rev.* (and probably also *obv.*) with double-barred and dotted N and H.
1·05 g.

278 0·86 g.

279 1·03 g.

280 0·94 g.

Class E/F

281 0·99 g.

Class F/E

282 1·08 g.

283 0·96 g.

284 *Obv.* with unbarred M and N?
0·88 g.

Class F

285 0·94 g.

286 Double- and single-barred letters on obv. and rev.?
0·86 g.

256. Bought 1968.

257. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart hoard, no. 2. (*HBN* 27/29.)

258–61. Id., nos. 6–8, 10.

262. Bought 1974.

263–6. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart hoard, nos. 12, 11, 13, 14.

267. Bought 1974.

268. Bought 1968 (from Istanbul).

269, 271, 275, 278. Bought 1968.

270, 274. Bought 1967, ex Aleppo hoard. Analyses: UM 797, 798.

272. Given by the Revd I. C. G. Campbell, 1980.

273. Given by Capt. C. J. Sabine, 1982.

276. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart hoard 86.

277. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), from Beirut, 1886.

279, 282. Bought 1974.

280. Given by the Revd I. C. G. Campbell, 1982.

281. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart hoard, no. 45.

283–6. Id., nos. 42–3, 40–1.

*256

*274

*285

256 257 258 259 260 262 264

265 266 267 270 272 274 275

276 277 279 282 283 285 286

ANTIOCH: HELMET DENIERS, CLASSES B-F

PLATE 12

(*Section 12, Helmet deniers of Antioch, cont.*)

Class G

287 *Obv.* +BO[A]NVИ·DVΣ, with solid O. Inverted crescent.
Rev. +ΛITIOCIIIΛ. Retrograde, but crescent still in second quarter.
1·03 g.

288 *Obv.* +BΛИV[N]DVΣ, double-barred Λ with annulets, Vs with central dots.
Rev. +ΛИTIOCIIIΛ, double-barred Λs with annulets, solid O.
0·88 g.

Class H

289 *Obv.* Similar, with reversed, dotted A for V. Inverted crescent.
Rev. Similar, with inserted symbol of three dots on V, И, and bar of T in one piece.
0·92 g.

290 *Obv.* Similar. Inverted crescent.
Rev. ΛNTI V ΘCIИΛ, Λs with three annulets and dot. Inserted three-dot symbol.
0·93 g.

291 *Obv.* Angular B, four-dot Λ, dotted Σ.
Rev. Λs with three dots on upper bar, III ligate, T with separate crossbar in single stroke. Inserted three-dot symbol.
0·80 g.

292 *Obv.* Similar to 291, with dotted H.
Rev. Inserted group of three annulets. III ligate. Deep crescent in second quarter.
0·86 g.

293 *Obv.* Similar.
Rev. Four-dot Λ. Symbol between I and O obscure.
1·01 g.

Class J

294 *Rev.* Unusual letter Λ as seen on Italian coins. Crescents between N and T, and between H and I. The normal crescent is visible in the second quarter, although very faint.
0·95 g.

295 *Obv.* with unusual unbarred Λ.
Rev. +ΛITIOCIIIΛ, with split Θ.
0·93 g.

296 *Obv.* with unusual Λ.
Rev. ΛIITIOCIIIΛ with seriffed C.
0·94 g. 25·7 per cent silver.

297 *Rev.* +Λ·ITIOCI·IIΛ. Seriffed C.
0·98 g.

298 *Rev.* +ΛITIOCIIIΛ. Unseriffed C.
1·10 g.

299 1·03 g.

300 0·97 g.

301 0·88 g.

302 0·86 g.

303 0·80 g.

304 Similar, with *obv.* dot instead of star (unfinished die), and *rev.* III ligate.
0·96 g.

305 *Rev.* +ΛIITIOCI·I·IΛ.
1·07 g.

306 *Rev.* +ΛIITIΘCIIIΛ.
1·02 g.

307 *Obv.* BOИIVINDVΣ.
Rev. As no. 306.
0·97 g.

308 Similar to no. 306.
0·86 g. 25·0 per cent silver.

309 *Rev.* with large pellet in legend, +ΛITIOCII·IΛ.
1·00 g.

310 *Rev.* +ΛITIOCIIIΛ.
1·12 g.

311 Similar, with *rev.* Θ.
0·79 g.

312 1·02 g.

313 0·90 g.

314 1·09 g.

Class J or K1

315 *Obv.* A and S ornamented with dots, as Class J.
Rev. +ΛIITIΘCIIIΛ. Λ ornamented with annulets.
0·89 g.

Class K1

316 *Obv.* Annulet in Θ.
Rev. Similar to 315. Λ ornamented with dots.
0·91 g.

317 *Obv.* Letter S with annulets, but Λ with dots.
0·95 g.

287, 289–95, 297–302, 304–7, 309–17. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart hoard 201, 192–3, 191, 194–5, 89, 122; 133, (184, 200, 201), 103–4; 115, 154, 121, 125; 129, 152, 155–7, 164, 167, 96–7.

288. Bought 1982 from Capt. Sabine, ex Glendining 24 March 1976, lot 234.

296. E. S. Bouchier bequest, 1930. Analysis: UM 801.

303. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll., ex Sir Harry Luke (not from the hoard).

308. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), from Beirut, 1886.

*287

*288

*294

287 288 289 290 291 292 293

294 295 296 297 299 302 303

305 309 310 311 315 316 317

ANTIOCH: HELMET DENIERS, CLASSES G-K

PLATE 13

(*Section 12, Helmet deniers of Antioch, cont.*)

318 Similar, but with annulets.
0·97 g.
319 0·93 g.
320 *Obv.* Annulet in first V, cf. no. 323 below.
Rev. Letters A with dots, C with annulets.
0·96 g.

Class K2

321 *Obv.* Dot in D.
Rev. +AIITIOCIIIA. Normal As with annulets, as in class K1, but C with serifs, and ligated and dotted II.
0·94 g.
322 *Obv.* Annulet after B, V crossed, ИD ligated and dotted.
Rev. As with three dots, +AIITIOCNIA.
0·98 g.
323 *Obv.* Annulet in V.
Rev. A with three dots. Dot between C and N.
0·91 g.

Class L

324 *Obv.* +:R:V:P:I:N:V:S:.
Rev. +ANTIOCIIIA.
0·92 g.
325 *Obv.* No 'chin-guard', but tall helmet.
+:R[:V]:P:I:N[:V]:S:.
Rev. +AITIOCIIIA.
1·05 g. 27·8 per cent silver.
326 *Obv.* No 'chin-guard'. +:R:V:P:I:N:V:S:.
Rev. +AMTIOCIIIA.
0·96 g. 27·5 per cent silver.

Class L or L/M

327 *Obv.* Similar, with three dots between V and P, and group of three dots at end of legend.
Rev. +AMTIOCI·I·IA.
0·77 g.

Class M

328 *Obv.* +:R:V:P:I:N:V:S:.
Rev. +AMTIOCI·IIA.
0·92 g.
329 *Obv.* +:R:V:P:I[N]:V:S[ ].
Rev. Cf. no. 328, without the pellet.
0·91 g. 28·6 per cent silver.

Class N

330 *Obv.* +BOANVИDV:S, with double-barred N and И.
Rev. +AMTIOCIIIA.
0·79 g.
331 *Obv.* Similar, with : superimposed on H as second N.
Rev. +AMTIOCI·I·I·IA.
0·84 g.

Class O

332 0·71 g. 27·2 per cent silver.
333 0·93 g. 29·1 per cent silver.
334 0·92 g. 25·1 per cent silver.
335 0·87 g.

13. ANTIOCH: FRACTIONAL COINAGE

A1. (*Schlumberger, pl. 2, 19*)

336 0·57 g. Copper.

B. (*Schlumberger, pl. 3, 3*)

337 0·97 g. Copper.

C1. (*Schlumberger, pl. 3, 15*)

338 *Obv.* +PRIHCEPƧ, with double-barred dotted H.
Rev. +AHTIOCHIЄ retrograde, with double-barred Hs.
0·79 g. Copper.
339 Similar, but the rev. legend is not retrograde, and the A has three dots on its upper bar instead of two.
0·90 g. Copper.

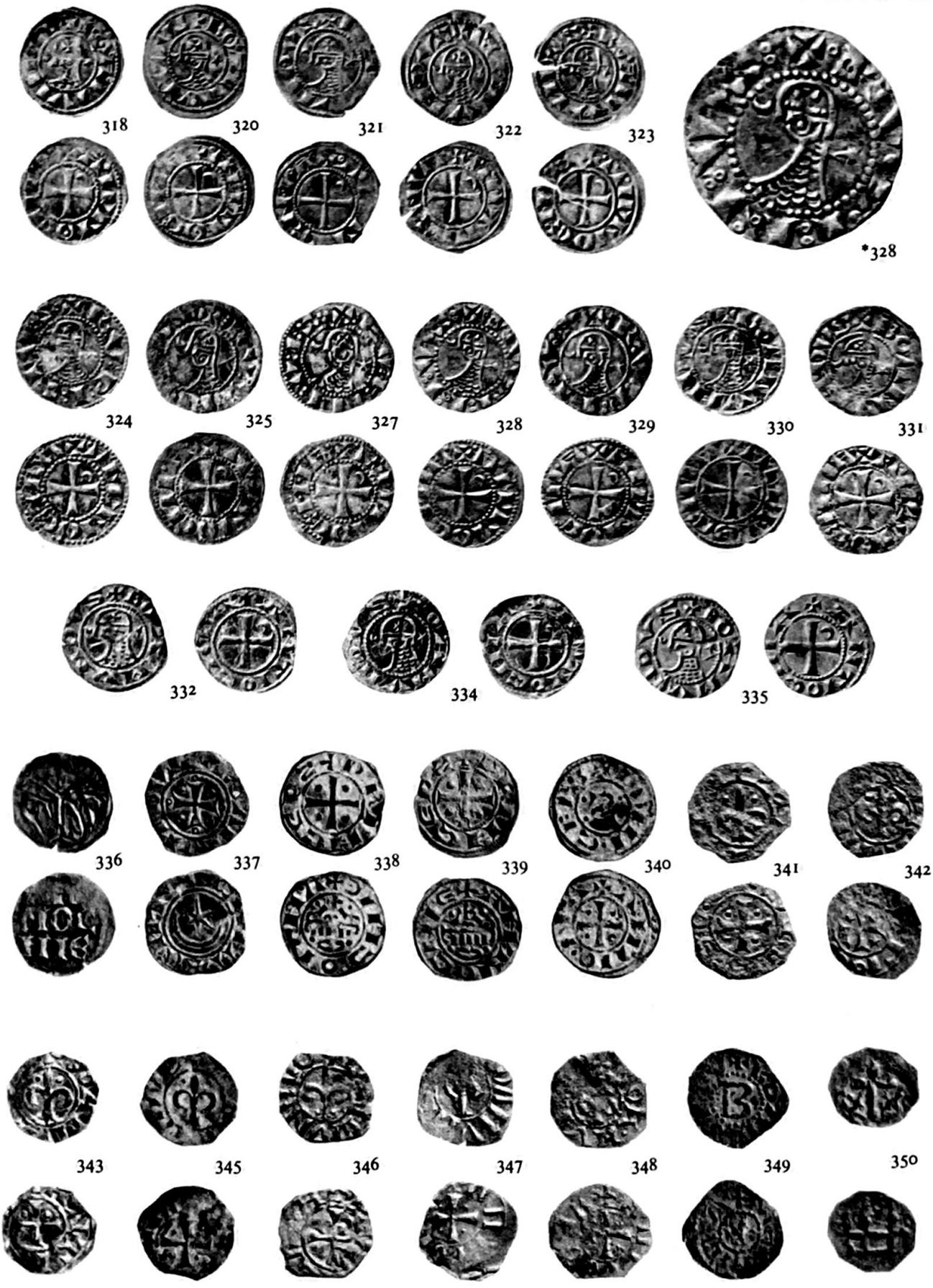
C2. (*Schlumberger, pl. 3, 16*)

340 *Obv.* Ƨ with four dots in field. +PRIH·CEPS.
Rev. Cross, with dots in first, second, and third quarters, and deep crescent in fourth. +AHTIO·hIA.
0·94 g. Copper.

D. (*Schlumberger, pl. 3, 1–2*)

341 De Wit —. *Obv.* +B[ ]Є·I[ ]VПƧ retrograde. Lis, with four dots in each quarter. *Rev.* +B:OЄ:ПVПDV:S. Cross fourchée, with dot in each quarter.
0·64 g. ←
342 De Wit, Type 3.
0·80 g. ↑
343 Cf. De Wit, Type 4
0·88 g. ↓
344 0·90 g. ↓
345 0·97 g.
346 De Wit —. Dots at foot of lis. Square A, closed M, recumbent S.
0·69 g. ↑
347 Distinctive lis, De Wit —? Fine dots in angles of rev. Same rev. die as no. 348?
0·62 g. ↙
348 De Wit —. Shaky engraving. Polygonal flan. Same rev. die as no. 347?
0·85 g. ↘

[*cont.*



ANTIOCH: HELMET DENIERS, CLASSES K-O; FRACTIONAL COINAGE

PLATE 14

Plate 13 (cont.)

E. (*Schlumberger, pl. 13, 13–14*)

349 Crude style and workmanship.
0·58 g. Copper.

318–23. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart hoard 93–5, 92, 91, 90.

324, 327. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll., ex Sir H. Luke.

325, 329, 330. Bought 1968, ex hoard 'K'.

325. *NC* (1969), pl. 15, 41.

326. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), bought Beirut 1886. Analysis: UM 803. *NC* (1969), pl. 15, 42.

328. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.

329. *NC* (1969), pl. 15, 40. Analysis: UM 1205.

330. For the triple dots in the obv. legend, cf. Magaracik 348.

331. Bought 1974. Same obv. die as ANS hoard 399.

F2. (*Schlumberger, pl. 3, 18*)

350 *Obv.* Cross, flanked by X X. Polygonal flan.
0·76 g.

332–3. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), bought Beirut 1886. Analyses: UM 799, 800.

334. Bought 1968, ex hoard 'K'. *NC* (1969), pl. 15, 46. Analysis: UM 1202.

335. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.

336. Bought 1982.

337. Given by Mr H. L. Weller, 1971.

338–9, 345. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

340. H. de S. Shortt bequest, 1975.

341–3. Bought 1982.

344, 350. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.

346–9. Bought 1982.

14. TRIPOLI: BEZANTS AND GROS

Gold bezants: c.*63 per cent gold standard.*

With symbols in intermediate circle

351 Dot and crescent at 12 o'clock on both sides.
3·20 g.

With letters B, T *added*

352 3·08 g. 63·4 per cent gold.

With cross added

353 Cross on rev.
3·50 g. 62·0 per cent gold.

BOHEMUND VI (1251–75): FROM *c.*1268?

Gros

Obv. +BOEMVNDVS:COMES. Cross in octafoil pattern.
Rev. +CIVITAS:TRIPOLI. Star in octafoil. The letter I is ornamented with a bar.

354 Variety with : instead of ⁝ in legends.
Obv. Ornamental N; dots in angles of octafoil pattern attached by very thin strokes.
4·26 g.

355 Variety with single stop on obv., none on rev.
Obv. Ornamental N.
4·05 g. (twice pierced).

356 4·24 g.

Half gros

357 2·15 g.

BOHEMUND VII (1275–87)

Gros

Obv. +SEPTIMVS:BOEMVNDVS:COMES. Cross in twelve-foil.
Rev. +CIVITAS:TRIPOLIS:SVRIE. Castle with three towers, in twelve-foil.

358 4·27 g.

Half-gros

359 1·98 g.

360 Similar, without linking buildings between the three towers, 2·12 g.

361 1·89 g.

15. TRIPOLI: BILLON AND COPPER

'*Moneta*' *copper: Raymond I, 1099–1105 or Raymond II, 1137–52*

362 *Obv.* RAIMVNDI COMITII. Small cross pattée and four annulets.
Rev. MONETA TRIPOLIS. Cross with dot in first and second, and group of three dots in third and fourth quarters.
0·95 g.

'*Horse and cross*' *copper: Raymond II, 1137–52*

363 *Obv.* +IAIIVII...Ɑ (*Raimundus Coms*). Cross with dot in each angle.
Rev. IVNRIOHITIS (*Civitas Tripolis*). Horse and cross (*Agnus Dei*?).
0·51 g.

'*Star and crescent*' *deniers: late 1140s–64?*

Obv. +RAMVNDVS COMS. Cross with dots in two angles.
Rev. CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. Crescent surrounded by small eight-pointed star with dots between rays; outline of five dots below crescent.

364 Type 1. Dots in first and third quarter.
0·74 g. 32·7 per cent silver.

365 Type 2. Dots in first and second quarters.
0·95 g.

366 Type 3. Dots in third and fourth quarters.
0·88 g.

367 0·80 g.

368 0·96 g.

'*Star and crescent*' *coppers:* c.*1145*–c.*1173/4?*

Obv. Shallow crescent surmounted by eight-pointed star, with dots between rays. Legend around varies according to type.
Rev. Cross with three annulets at end of each arm, intersected by smaller linear cross with crescent and annulet on each arm.

369 Type 1 (*c.*1145–late 1140s?). RAIMVNDVS.
1·75 g.

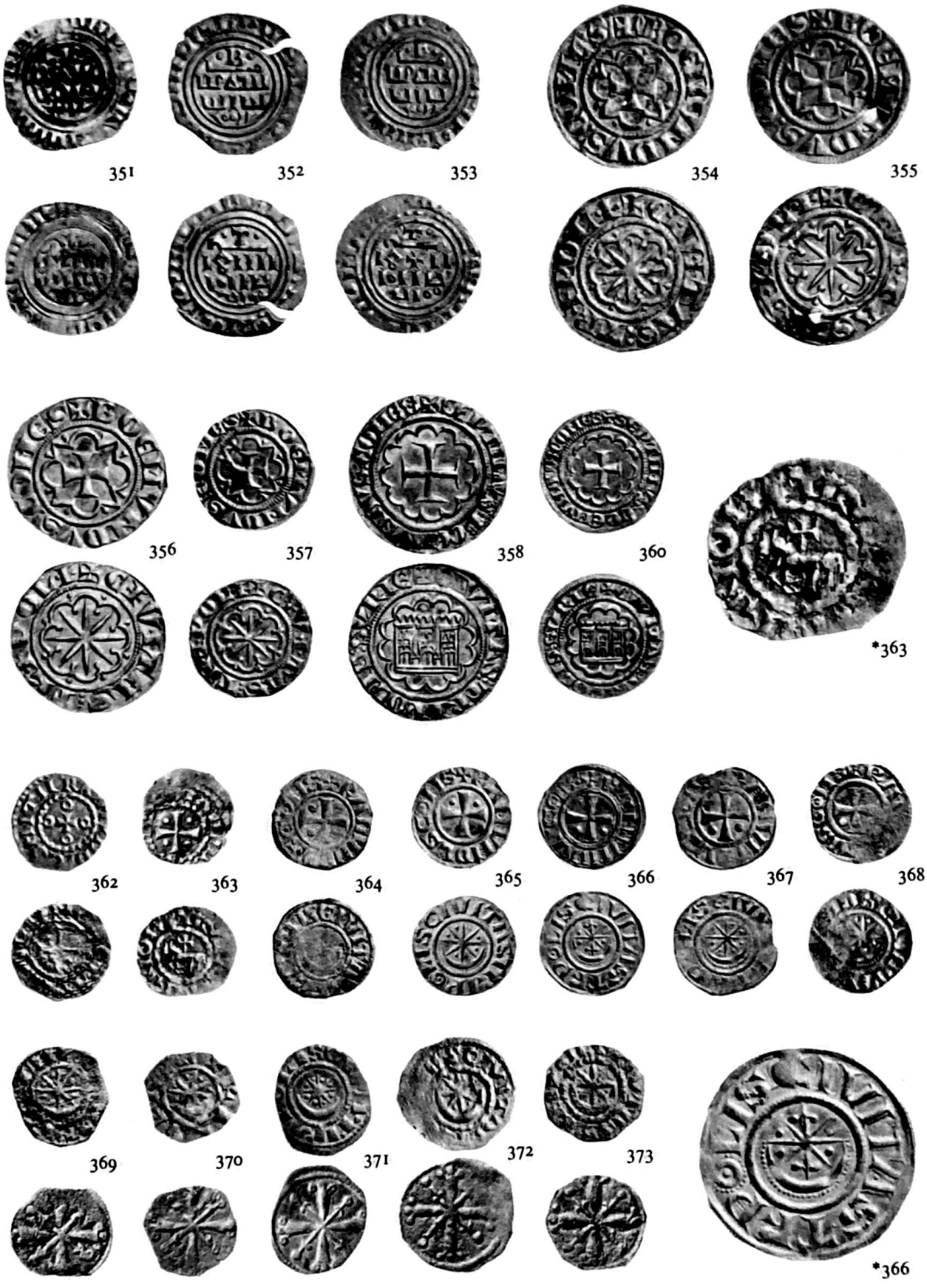
370 Type 2 (*c.*1164–5?). +TRIPOLIS.
0·68 g.

371 Type 3 (*c.*1165–1173/4?). CVATIRIPOLIS.
1·33 g.

372 Type 4a (*c.*1165–1173/4?). CIVITAS TRIPOLIS.
1·13 g.

373 Type 4b (*c.*1165–1173/4?). Three pellets instead of three annulets, and fleurs instead of crescents. CIVTAS TRIIPOILS.
0·94 g.

[*cont.*



TRIPOLI: GOLD; SILVER GROS; EARLY COINS

PLATE 15

Plate 14 (cont.)

351. Balog and Yvon 7. Bought 1972.
352-3. Bought 1955.
352. BY 15; Gordus and Metcalf 167.
353. BY 14; Gordus and Metcalf, 177.
354-6. Schlumberger, pl. 4, 19.
357. Ibid., pl. 4, 20.
358. Ibid., pl. 4, 21.
359-61. Ibid., pl. 4, 22.
354, 356-8, 361. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1889.
355, 360. Keble College (Canon H. P. Liddon bequest), bought Beirut, 1886.
359. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1890.
362. Sabine, Type 3, no. 150 (this coin). Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1980.
363. Cf. Sabine, Type 1, nos. 168-72. Bought 1982.
364. Sabine 6. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll. Analysis: UM 1183.
365-6. Sabine, 17, 28. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.
367. Sabine 31. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll., ex Grantley.
368. Sabine 35. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
369. Sabine 198. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1980.
370. Sabine 200. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1980.
371. Sabine 209. Ancien fonds (Bodleian Library).
372. Sabine 222. Bought 1982.
373. Sabine 234. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

(*Section 15, Tripoli, billon and copper, cont.*)

'Star' deniers in the name of Raymond III: c.*1173/4–1187*

Obv. +RAMVNDVS COMS. Cross.
Rev. +CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. Eight-pointed star with annulets between rays.

374 Type 1b. *Obv.* Narrow A, (?) unbarred. Second M has double chevron bar.
Rev. double-barred A.
0·95 g.

375 Type 1a.
0·95 g.

376 Type 1b.
0·92 g. 30·4 per cent silver.

377 Type 1b.
0·87 g. 28·7 per cent silver.

'Castle' coppers attributed to Raymond III: c.*1173/4–1187?*

Obv. +CIVITAS. Gateway with five courses of masonry, five crenellations, and large divided doorway.
Rev. +TRIPOLIS. Ornamental X-shaped design with four crescents.

378 Type 1a.
0·67 g.

379 Type 1a.
0·70 g.

380 Type 1, var.
0·93 g.

381 Type 1, var.
0·70 g.

382 Type 1, var. Square A in CIVITAS (early form?).
0·89 g.

Star deniers in the name of Bohemund I (IV), 1187–1233

Obv. +BAHVHDVS COMS. Second H double-barred. Cross.
Rev. +CIVITAS TRIPOLIS. Eight-pointed star with annulets between rays.

383 Type 2a. Dotted borders. Dots in angles of initial crosses.
0·73 g.

384 Type 2b. Obv. with wire border, rev. with dotted border.
0·64 g.

385 Type 2b. Wire borders. Undotted initial crosses. From the same dies as no. 386.
0·57 g.

386 Type 2b. From the same dies as no. 385.
0·79 g.

*'Castle' coppers attributed to Bohemund IV: 1187–*c.*1230*

387 Type 2 (*c.*1187–90?).
1·21 g.

388 Type 2.
0·61 g.

389 Type 3 (*c.*1190 onwards?).
1·19 g.

390 Type 3, with unusual obverse.
0·58 g.

391 Type 3.
0·82 g.

392 Type 4 (*c.*1210?).
0·83 g.

393 Type 4 (*c.*1210–1215/20?).
0·45 g.

394 Type 4.
0·54 g.

395 Type 5 (*c.*1215/20–*c.*1230/5?).
0·83 g.

New-style 'Star' deniers: c.*1230/5 onwards*

396 Type 3, (?) early variant with initial crosses, etc.
Obv. +BOAMVND COMS. Cross, with dot in first quarter.
Rev. +CIVITAS TRIPOL'. Six-pointed star with dots between rays. Wire borders.
0·46 g.

397 Type 3.
Obv. :BAMVND' COMS. Cross.
Rev. :CIVITAS TRIPOL'. Six-pointed star with annulets between rays. Wire borders.
0·53 g.

398 Type 5 (early var.).
Obv. +BAMVND' COMS. Cross with group of three dots in second quarter.
Rev. +CIVITAS TRIPOL'. Eight-pointed star with annulets between rays. Wire borders. Early variety without three dots.
0·75 g. (chipped).

399 Type 5 (normal var.).
0·57 g.

400 0·45 g.

401 0·63 g.

402 0·62 g.

403 Similar, with 'fish-tail' serifs on obv. cross.
0·53 g.

New-style 'Castle' coppers: c.*1230/5 onwards*

Obv. +CIVITAS. Cross pommée with dot in each angle.
Rev. +TRIPOLIS. Gateway with three crenellations, and full-width double door.

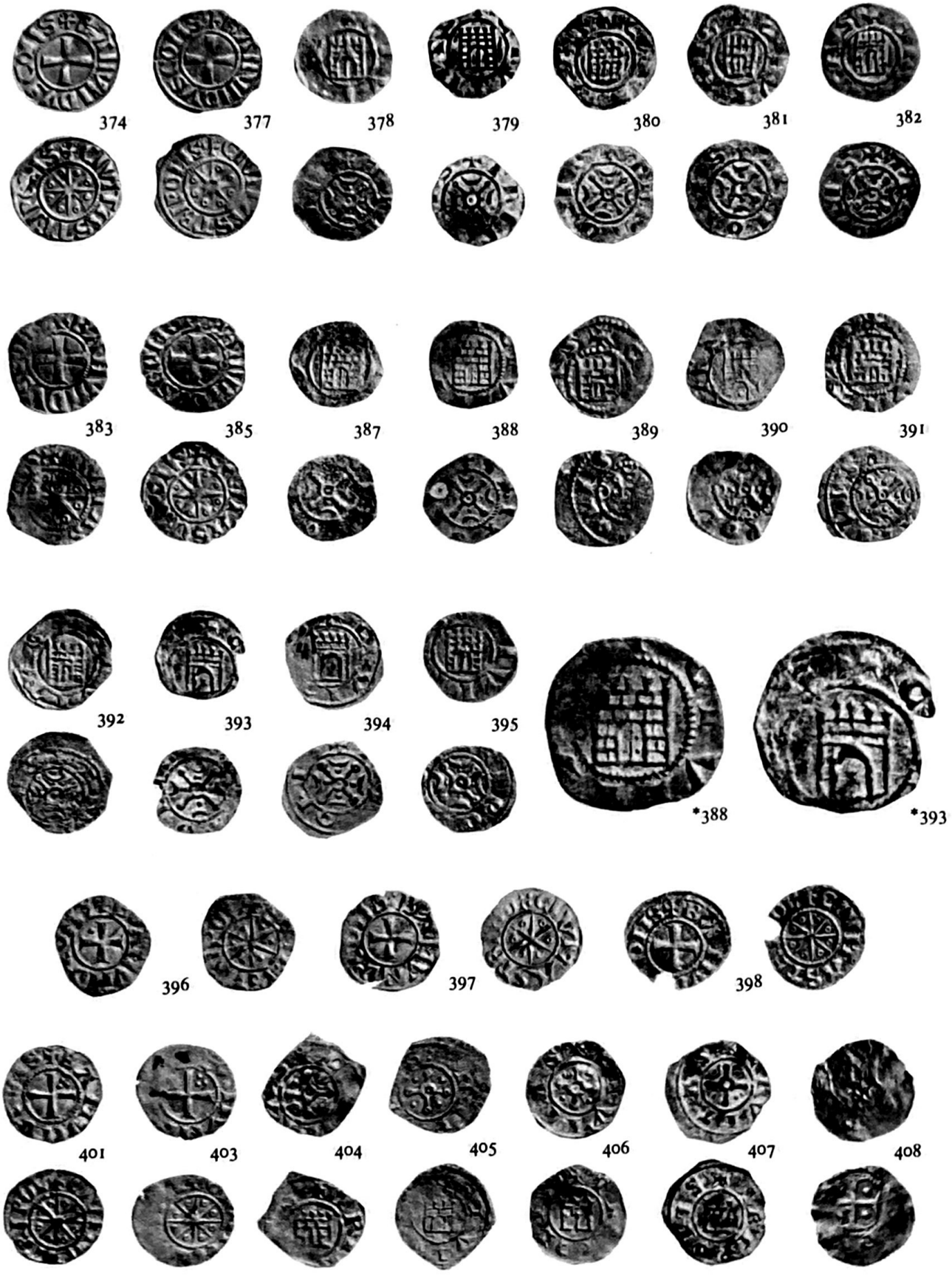
404 Cf. Type 6, var. with cross pommée with dot in first and fourth, crescent in second and third quarters.
0·81 g.

405 Type 6, var. with obv. and rev. transposed.
0·64 g.

406 Type 6.
0·47 g.

407 Type 6.
0·75 g.

[*cont.*



TRIPOLI: STAR DENIERS AND CASTLE COPPERS

PLATE 16

Plate 15 (cont.)

Unattributed copper coin, possibly Tripolitan

408 *Obv.* M, • above, cross below.
Rev. Cross, dots in angles.
0·47 g.

Contemporary counterfeit of 'Star' denier

409 Counterfeit of type 3? Copper.
0·69 g.

374–5. Sabine 47; 36. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

376. Sabine 40. Ancien fonds (Bodleian Library). Analysis: UM 1182.

377. Sabine 43. Given by Sir C. Warren, 1888. Analysis: UM 1184.

378. Sabine 246. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1978.

379, 382. Sabine —. Bought 1982.

380. Sabine 266. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

381. Sabine 270. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1890.

383, 386. Sabine 56; 66. Given by Sir C. Warren, 1888.

384. Sabine 62. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

385. Sabine 65. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester (n.d.).

387. Sabine 275. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.

388, 391, 394–5. Sabine —. Bought 1982. 394, cf. Sabine 296.

389, 390, 392–3. Sabine 284, 292, 294, 297. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1980.

396. Sabine 68a. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1982.

397. Sabine 69. Given by P. Grierson, 1964.

398. Sabine 77. Bought from Capt. Sabine 1980.

399–401. Sabine 83–4, 98. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

402. Sabine 108. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1978.

403. Sabine 125. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.

404. Sabine —. Rev. cf. S.308, but this obv. not recorded. Bought 1982.

405. Sabine 309. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1980.

406–7. Sabine 313, 318. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

408. Sabine 333. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1980.

409. Sabine 343. Bought from Capt. Sabine, 1982.

16. EUROPEAN COINS FROM *c.*1187

FRANCE

The coins are arranged in their historic provinces alphabetically, as in Dieudonné, *Manuel*, vol. 4.

ANGOULÊME. *County*. Type immobilisé *in the name of Louis*

410 *Obv.* +LODOICVS.
Rev. +EGOLIS~IME.
0·78 g.
411 Obole, similar.
0·46 g.

ANJOU. *County*. Type immobilisé *in the name of Fulk*.

412 *Obv.* +FVLCOCOMES.
Rev. +VRBSAIDCCSV. Initial cross of four triangles.
0·78 g. (very worn).
413 Similar, but COMES.
0·77 g. (worn).
414 *Obv.* Similar.
Rev. VRBS ANDEGAVS.
0·98 g. (worn).
415 0·92 g.
416 0·96 g.
417 1·10 g.

BOURBONNAIS. *The Cluniacs, minting at the priory of Souvigny*

418 *Obv.* SCSMAIOLVS.
Rev. +SILVINIACO.
0·81 g.

BOURGOGNE. *Duchy. Hugh IV, 1218–72. Mint of Dijon*

419 *Obv.* +VGODVXBVRGDIE.
Rev. +DIVIONENS~IS.
0·81 g.
420 0·53 g.

CHAMPAGNE (SOUTH) AND BRIE. *Counts*

Mint of Provins

Henry I, 1152–80, from c.*1160, and perhaps Henry II*

421 *Obv.* +HENRICOMES. Solid initial cross of four triangles.
Rev. CASTRIPRVVINS.
0·86 g. (worn).
422 1·02 g. (worn).
423 Similar, but initial cross is elongated cross pattée.
1·06 g.
424 0·84 g.

Henry II, 1180–97

425 Similar, but star in second quarter of cross and above comb to left.
0·92 g.
426 Similar, but omega in form Ѡ; *rev.*, annulets above comb.
1·23 g.

Thibaut III, 1197–1201 or Thibaut IV, 1201–53

427 *Obv.* +TEBALTCOMES.
1·15 g.
428 Similar, but less neat. COMES.
0·99 g.

Mint of Troyes

Henry I, 1152–80, from c.*1160, and perhaps Henry II*

429 *Obv.* +HENRICOMES. Solid initial cross of four triangles.
Rev. TEBO monogram, TRECASCIVITAS, pierced initial cross.
1·05 g.
430 Similar, but *obv.* elongated cross pattée.
1·10 g.
431 0·96 g.
432 0·84 g.

Meaux: bishopric

Stephen, 1162–71

433 *Obv.* ⊕STEPHANVSEPC.
Rev. +MELƆCIVITAS. Solid initial cross of four triangles.
1·03 g.
434 1·09 g.

410–11. Third series (Dieudonné, *Manuel*, vol. 4, pp. 70 f.) with central crosslet, but reduced weight. Given by Mr A. Spaer, 1982, ex 'Jerusalem' hoard. *ANSMN* 20 (1975), pl. 21 (illus.).

412–18. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980, ex Stewart coll., from Lebanese hoard.

412–13. First group in the name of Fulk. (See *ANSMN* 20 (1975), p. 145, n. 19.)

414–17. Third group in the name of Fulk (present in Samos hoard). See ibid.

418. Dieudonné, *Manuel*, vol. 4, p. 105. First period (1080–1213). Cf. Acre finds, no. 49.

419–20. See D. M. Metcalf, 'Burgundian money in the Latin East', *INJ* 5 (1981), 73–82, Type III. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1888–90.

421–4. See Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Samos hoard', at p. 176. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980, ex Stewart coll., from Lebanese hoard.

425. Given by J. G. Milne, 1931; obtained from N. Zitelli, Rhodes.

426–8. See D. M. Metcalf in *ANSMN* 20 (1975), at pp. 149 ff.

426–7. Given by Mr A. Spaer, 1982, ex 'Jerusalem' hoard.

428–34. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980, ex Stewart coll., from Lebanese hoard.

429–34. See Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Samos hoard', at p. 176.

433–4. Dieudonné, *Manuel*, vol. 4, p. 136.

*427

410 411 412 413

414 415 416 417 418 419 420

421 422 423 424 425 426 427

428 429 430 431 432 433 434

PLATE 17

LANGUEDOC. *Le Puy, bishopric*

435 Chrismon and cross with knopped arms.
0·75 g.

LIMOUSIN. *Limoges, the Cluniacs at the abbey of Saint-Martial*

436 *Obv.* SCSMARCIAL.
Rev. +LEMOVICENSIS.
0·92 g.

NORMANDY. *Duchy.* (*Late eleventh–first half of the twelfth century*)

437 *Obv.* +NORMANNDVX.
Rev. Degenerate temple type.
0·57 g.
438 0·71 g.
439 0·63 g.
440 *Obv.* Patriarchal cross.
Rev. PAX.
0·85 g.
441 Similar. *Rev.* ROTVMAG[..].
0·41 g.

ORLEANAIS. *Gien-Donzy, lords*

Geoffrey III, 1120–60, or later

442 *Obv.* +GOSEDVSCOS.
Rev. +GIEMISCA.
1·05 g.
443 0·70 g.

POITOU. *With the mint name Melle, but minted elsewhere*

Richard Lion-heart, 1169–96

444 *Obv.* +RICARDVSREX.
Rev. PIC/TAVIE/NSIS; dot before P.
0·79 g.
445 Similar, dot after P and C.
0·75 g.
446 Similar, dot above PIC.
0·56 g.

TOURAINE. *Saint-Martin de Tours, abbey*

447 *Obv.* SCSMARTINVS.
Rev. +TVRONVSCIVI. (Lettering in shaky style.)
0·83 g. (worn).

448 Similar, but sharply cut, seriffed lettering.
Obv., dot within M, dot at base of A, N.
Rev. N.
1·01 g.
449 0·88 g.
450 1·15 g.
451 0·85 g.
452 0·88 g.
453 Obole, similar, with rev. A and W in third and fourth quarters.
0·44 g.

ITALY

ANCONA

454 *Obv.* +PPS·QVIRIA/C/V/S.
Rev. DEANCONA.
0·59 g.

VENICE

A. Venier, 1382–1400

455 *Obv.* sigla: star, P.
Rev. S.M.VENETI/ANTO VENERIO/DVX.
1·62 g. (pierced).

SICILY

Henry VI, 1191–7

456 *Obv.* +E·INPERATOR.
Rev. C.INPERATRIX.
0·39 g.

Frederick II, emperor, 1220–50

457 *Obv.* +F.ROMANR'SEMP'AVG.
Rev. +R.IERSL'ETSICIL'.

Frederick III, 1296–1337

458 *Obv.* +FRI·T·DEI·GRA.
Rev. +REX·SICILIE·.
0·66 g.

IRELAND?

Edward IV?

459 Clipped penny.

435, 437–43. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980, ex Stewart coll., from Lebanese hoard.

435. Cf. Metcalf, 'A hoard of coins of Le Puy', *HBN* 27/29 (1973/5), 67–8.

436. Cf. P. A. 2291, but SCS. Given by Dr Metcalf. Obtained in Jerusalem, 1973.

437. F. Dumas, 'Les monnaies normandes (x^e^–xii^e^ siècles)', *RN*^6^ 21 (1979), 84–140, pl. 20, 5 (Group C).

438. Dumas, pl. 20, 6.

439. Ibid., pl. 20, 19.

440. Ibid., pl. 20, 23.

441 Ibid., pl. 20, 24.

442–3. Cf. Duplessy and Metcalf, 'Samos hoard', at p. 177, and nos. 1–7.

444–6. Dieudonné, *Manuel*, vol. 4, pp. 335 and 337. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, pp. 16 f. Bought 1975, ex Stewart coll. (Friends of the Ashmolean); given to Professor Stewart in 1950 by Miss Cox, ex Tripoli hoard.

[*cont.*

*436

435 436 437 438

439 440 441 442 443 444 445

446 447 448 449 450 451 452

453 454 455 456 457 458 459

EUROPEAN COINS

PLATE 18

Plate 17 (cont.)

447–52. Dieudonné, *Manuel*, vol. 4, pp. 365 f. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980, ex Stewart coll., from Lebanese hoard.

453. P.A. 1649. Given by Dr Metcalf. Obtained in Jerusalem, 1973.

454. Denaro primitivo, Metcalf group III (initial marks, triangle and dot on obv., triangle on rev.). (*NCirc.* 82 (1974), 378–80.) Bought 1973, ex St. Hilarion Castle hoard, Cyprus.

455. Given by Sir D. Scott, 1963. A small paper label was tied to this coin, reading, 'Ancient silver Coin given me by a Druse chief at Rashiya 1882'.

456. Spahr 28. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

457. Spahr 139. Given by Messrs A. H. Baldwin and Sons, Ltd., 1980.

458. Spahr 44/50. No sigla in arms of cross. Bought 1973, ex St. Hilarion Castle hoard, Cyprus.

459. Transferred from Dept. of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum. From Egypt.

GUY OF LUSIGNAN, LORD OF CYPRUS, 1192–3, OR AIMERY AS LORD, 1194–7

Denier

460 *Obv.* ✠RЄXGVIDO. Tower with battlements. Six-pointed star inside.
Rev. ✠DЄCI•PRO. Cross pattée, pellets in first and fourth quarters, crescents in second and third.
0·88 g.

HUGH I, KING OF CYPRUS, 1205–18

Bezants

461 *Obv.* Christ seated in majesty, on throne without back, holds the Book of the Gospel, right hand raised in blessing (in the Orthodox manner). $\overline{IC}$ / $\overline{XC}$.
Rev. The king standing facing, wears crown and chlamys, and holds long cross left and globus cruciger right. Crescent on staff of long cross. hVGO RЄX·CYPRI·.
3·56 g. (pierced and heavily gilt).

462 *Obv.* Similar, but throne with back. Stars on throne l. and r.
Rev. The king wears crown and loros, and holds globus cruciger with double cross. hVGO RЄX [CYP]RI.
3·71 g. (pierced).

Denier, Class I (regency of Gautier, 1205–10?)

463 *Obv.* ✠VGONISRЄ. Cross, crescents in first and fourth quarters, pellets in second and third.
Rev. ✠·DЄCI·PRO·. Tower with battlements and gateway.
0·87 g.

Class III

464 *Obv.* ✠·hVGO RЄX·. Cross pattée, crescents in first and fourth quarters, stars of eight rays in second and third [if h is placed at 12 o'clock].
Rev. ✠·CYPRI·. Tower with battlements and gateway.
0·70 g.

Class IV

465 *Obv.* ✠✠hVGO•RЄX. Cross pattée, crescents in first and fourth quarters, annulets in second and third [if h is placed at 12 o'clock].
Rev. ✠CYPRI. Tower with (wedge-shaped) battlements and gateway.
0·49 g.

HENRY I, 1218–53

Bezant with king's name in genitive case (regency of Philip of Ibelin, John of Ibelin, or Frederick II, 1218–32?)

466 *Obv.* Christ seated in majesty, on high-backed throne, with stars on back panel to l. and r. He holds the book of the Gospel. [Hand raised in blessing omitted from die?] $\overline{IC}$ $\overline{XC}$. Double outer border.
Rev. The king standing facing, wears crown, (?) loros, and divitision, and holds long cross left and globus cruciger with double cross, right. Three dots in field to lower left hЄNRIC[I] RЄX CIPRI. Double outer border.
3·68 g. (pierced).

(a) *Deniers with reversed legends (regency of Philip of Ibelin, John of Ibelin, or Frederick II, 1218–32?)*

467 *Obv.* ✠HЄPRICVS. Tower with battlements and gateway.
Rev. ✠RЄX·CYPRI. Cross pattée with annulet in first quarter, crescents in second and third, and pellet in fourth.
0·57 g.

468 *Obv.* Similar, but HЄПRICVS.
Rev. Similar, but RЄX CYPRI, crescents in first and fourth quarters, pellets in second and third.
0·88 g.

(b) *Deniers with normal legends and simplified tower (1232–53?), earlier style*

469 *Obv.* ✠[hЄN]RICVS. Cross pattée.
Rev. ✠RЄXCVPRI.
0·75 g.

470 Similar, but *rev.* ✠✠RЄXCYPRI.
0·75 g.

471 ✠hЄNRI·CVS:.
Rev. ✠RЄXCVPRI:.
0·77 g.

(c) *Transitional to d?*

472 *Obv.* ✠hЄNRICVS:.
Rev. ✠RЄHCYPRI. The R and H of RЄH are in an earlier style.
0·63 g.

(d) *Similar, with more regular lettering: the tail of the* R *and the oblique seriffing of the* X *are characteristic, and the* Y *has a thin trailing stem which joins the inner circle of the design*

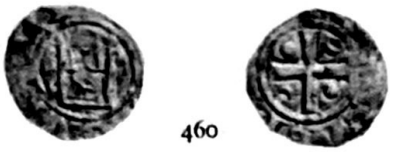
473 *Obv.* As above.
Rev. As above.
0·65 g.

474 0·48 g.

475 0·74 g.

476 0·75 g.

[*cont.*



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461 462

463 464 465

467 466 468

469 470 471 472 473 475 476

477 478 479

CYPRUS, TO *c.*1269

PLATE 19

Plate 18 (cont.)

Æ, with reversed legends (regency of Philip of Ibelin, John of Ibelin, or Frederick II, 1218–32?)

477 As no. 468 above.
1·02 g.

Æ, with facing bust

478 *Obv.* Crowned facing bust. +HENRICVS.
Rev. Cross pattée with pellets in angles. +REX:CYPRI.
3·11 g. (pierced).

479 *Obv.* Similar, without dots in band of crown.
Rev. Similar. +REX:CYPRI.
2·63 g. (pierced).

460–6, 470, 472–9. Bought 1974 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
460. Cox, *Tripolis Hoard*, p. 43, no. 1.
461. Schlumberger —; Clerkenwell 84–6 (different dies).
462. Cf. Schlumberger, pl. 6, 3.
463. Cox, op. cit., p. 45, no. 1.
464. Ibid., p. 47, no. 9.
465, 474. From Paphos hoard.
466. Schlumberger, pl. 6, 7. Cf. Clerkenwell 88–9. Ex Lockett sale, part 3, 673.
467. Bought 1956, ex Lockett sale, part 3, 684, ex Grantley coll.
468. Bought 1980.
469. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1889.
470, 472, 479. Ex Lockett sale, part 3, 673.
471. Given by Sir C. Warren, 1888.
473, 475. Ex Grantley duplicates.
476, 478. Ex Sir H. Luke.

(*Section 17, Cyprus to* c.*1290, cont.*)

Æ, with gateway

(a) *earlier variety*

480 *Obv.* Cross pattée +hENRICVS:.
Rev. Gateway with three battlemented turrets, the central one taller than the other two. In a panel across the tower, REX.
2·23 g.

481 1·80 g.

(b) *later variety, similar in lettering style to nos. 473–6*

482 1·20 g.

483 1·83 g.

HUGH III, 1267–84
(*with the title of Jerusalem, after 1269*)

Deniers, (a) *with plain reverse*

484 *Obv.* Cross pattée. +hVGVE:REI:DE:.
Rev. Lion of Cyprus +IRL'M:ED'ChIPR':.
0·56 g.

485 *Obv.* Ends DE.
Rev. Ends ChIPR'.
0·61 g.

(b) *with dot in second quarter*

486 Similar to 484, but *obv.*, Cross pattée, dot in second quarter.
0·66 g.

487 0·68 g.

488 0·66 g.

HUGH III, 1267–84, OR HENRY II, 1284–1324

Bezant

489 *Obv.* Christ seated in majesty, on throne with back and sides. The panels of the throne are outlined with panels of dots, and are divided into two by a horizontal line with a single dot above and below. IC XC. Double outer border.
Rev. The king standing facing, wears crown and short (?) chlamys, and undergarment with ornamented sleeves. He holds long cross left and globus crusiger right. Symbol of seven dots in field right. hREI.D'[Ih]R[LM]:ED'hIP. Double outer border.
3·09 g. (twice pierced, and heavily gilt).

18. CYPRUS: THE PERIOD OF THE GROS

HENRY II, 1285–1324

Heavy series: Nicosia mint

Gros grands

490 Upper panel of throne ornamented with dots. No dot within lion's tail.
4·62 g.

491 Plain throne. Crowned lion.
4·76 g.

492 Plain throne.
4·77 g.

Gros petit

493 Dot within lion's tail.
2·31 g.

AMAURY, GOVERNOR, 1306–10

Coins in the name of Amaury alone (*1310?*)

Variety with tendrils (*Nicosia mint?*)

494 4·40 g.

Plain shield (*Famagusta mint?*)

495 4·38 g.

480–3, 489. Bought 1974 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

481. Ex Münzen und Medaillen, list 132, 164.

482. Ex Lockett sale, part 3, 673.

484–7. Bought 1973, ex St. Hilarion Castle hoard (*HBN* 27/29 (1973/5), 81–3).

488. Given by the Revd I. C. G. Campbell, 1980.

489. Cf. Lambros, *Monnaies inédites du royaume de Chypre*, pl. B, 21.

490–1. Bought 1974 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

490. Metcalf 5, obv. die C, rev. die 1.

491. Metcalf 15, obv. die H, rev. die 1.

492, 494–5. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir Reginald Stubbs.

492. Metcalf 28, obv. die J, rev. die 7.

493. Metcalf 63, obv. die C, rev. die 2. Presented by Sir C. Warren, 1888.

494. Metcalf 3, dies Ab.

495. Metcalf 26, dies Hh.

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CYPRUS, TO 1310

PLATE 20

Henry II, second type

Series 1a. (Nicosia mint?)

Early phases (no field-mark)

496 4·63 g.
497 4·59 g.

Later phase (field-mark ✱)

498 4·48 g.
499 4·51 g.
500 4·43 g.
501 4·45 g.
502 4·16 g. (pierced).
503 4·49 g.

Gros petits (field-mark spur rowel)

504 2·07 g.
505 2·26 g.

Gros petits (field-mark ✱)

506 2·28 g.
507 2·17 g.

Later phase (no field-mark)

508 4·20 g.

Gros petits

509 2·14 g.
510 2·17 g.
511 2·21 g.
512 2.21 g.

496–7, 508. Bought 1982, ex Stewart coll.
496. Metcalf 4. Dies Ac.
497. Metcalf 29. Dies Ge.
498, 505, 509–12. Bought 1981, ex Stewart coll.
498. Metcalf 56. Dies Da.
499–500, 502–3, 506. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.
499. Metcalf 66. Dies Eb.
500. Metcalf 77. Dies Fa.
501. Metcalf 118. Dies Ma. Given by Professor E. T. Hall, 1955.
502. Metcalf 121. Dies Oa.
503. Metcalf 124. Dies Pb.
504, 507. Bought 1974 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
504. Metcalf 133. Dies Ta.
505. Metcalf 135. Dies Tb. Ex Sir R. Stubbs coll.
506. Metcalf 141. Dies Wb.
507. Metcalf 144. Dies Wd.
508. Metcalf 160. Dies Cb.
509. Metcalf 186. Dies La.
510. Metcalf 189. Dies Ma.
511. Metcalf 203. Dies Oa. Ex J. P. Derriman coll.
512. Metcalf 204. Dies Pa. Ex Karpass hoard.

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CYPRUS, HENRY II

(*Section 18, Cyprus, gros, Henry II, cont.*)

Series 1b. (*Famagusta mint?*)

With field-mark cinquefoil

513 4·53 g.

Gros petit

514 2·17 g.

With field-mark ✚

515 4·66 g. (pierced and heavily gilt).
516 4·53 g.

Without field-mark

517 4·51 g.
518 4·32 g.

Gros petits

519 2·09 g.
520 2·21 g.
521 2·23 g.
522 2·30 g.
523 2·18 g.
524 2·29 g.
525 2·22 g.

Series 2 (*Famagusta mint?*)

With triple stop, DЄ⁝

526 4·57 g.

Gros petits

527 2·22 g.
528 2·24 g.
529 2·21 g.

513, 517–18, 520, 522–3, 527–8. Bought 1981, ex Stewart coll.

513. Metcalf 226. Dies Da. Ex Sir H. Luke.

514. Metcalf 235. Dies Fb. Bought 1974 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.

515. Metcalf 241. Dies Aa. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1974.

516, 521. Bought 1975, ex Stewart coll.

516. Metcalf 263. Dies Na.

517. Metcalf 279. Dies Ca. Ex Sir H. Luke.

518. Metcalf 295. Dies Ka.

519. Metcalf 304. Dies Pa. Given by Professor C. W. C. Oman, 1909.

520. Metcalf 312. Dies Ta. Ex Sir R. Stubbs.

521. Metcalf 321. Dies Ub.

522. Metcalf 322. Dies Uc. Ex Karpass hoard.

523. Metcalf 323. Dies Uc.

524. Metcalf 325. Dies Ue. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1889.

525. Metcalf 327. Dies Ug. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.

526. Metcalf 337. Dies Cc. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester (n.d.).

527. Metcalf 353. Dies Ha. Ex Stavrokono hoard.

528. Metcalf 355. Dies Ia.

529. Metcalf 358. Dies Ib. Found in the Paphos district, in or before 1947.

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514 519 520 521 522 523

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CYPRUS, HENRY II

PLATE 22

(*Section 18, Cyprus, gros, Henry II, cont.*)

Without stop after DE

530 4·50 g.
531 4·59 g.
532 *Obv.* (unusually) with DEI. Elaborate lions.
4·42 g.
533 4·49 g.

Gros petits

534 2·26 g.
535 2·20 g.
536 2·16 g.
537 2·20 g.
538 2·30 g.
539 *Rev.* with V, and ends DEChI. The reverse die, and particularly the crosslets, are sharp whereas the obverse shows considerable wear in the die, e.g. the left lion's head has almost disappeared.
2·23 g.
540 1·99 g (pierced and worn).
541 *Rev.* with V.
2·25 g.
542 *Rev.* with V.
2·18 g.

Series with field-mark three fleurs-de-lis (*uncertain mint*)

543 4·40 g.

Deniers

With dots in the angles of the cross (*mint?*)

544 *Obv.* Cross. +hENRI:REI:DE.
Rev. Lion. +IRLMED'ChIPR.
0·73 g.
545 0·77 g.

With plain cross (*mint?*)

546 *Obv.* +hENRI:REIDE.
Rev. +IRLM:ED'ChIPR.
0·81 g.
547 0·81 g.
548 Similar, but N. No dots behind lion's tail?
0·76 g.
549 Similar? 0·61 g. (worn).

530. Metcalf 387. Dies Gb. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.
531. Metcalf 388. Dies Gc. Bought 1972.
532. Metcalf 394. Dies Ka. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1889.
533. Metcalf 395. Dies La. Given by Professor E. T. Hall, 1955.
534–42. Bought 1981, ex Stewart coll.
534. Metcalf 401. Dies Pb. Ex Karpass hoard.
535. Metcalf 405. Dies Pd. Ex Karpass hoard.
536. Metcalf 414. Dies Ta. Ex Sir H. Luke.
537. Metcalf 415. Dies Ua.
538. Metcalf 418. Dies Vb.
539. Metcalf 421. Dies Ve. Ex Sir H. Luke.
540. Metcalf 423. Dies Wa.
541. Metcalf 427. Dies Wc. Ex Karpass hoard.
542. Metcalf 428. Dies Wc. Ex Stavrokono hoard.
543. Metcalf 436. Dies Ab. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll., ex Lockett Sale 3, 683.
544–5, 547–8. Bought 1973, ex St. Hilarion Castle hoard.
546. Bought 1956, ex Grierson, ex Lockett sale 3, 684, ex Grantley sale.
549. Given by P. Grierson, 1964.

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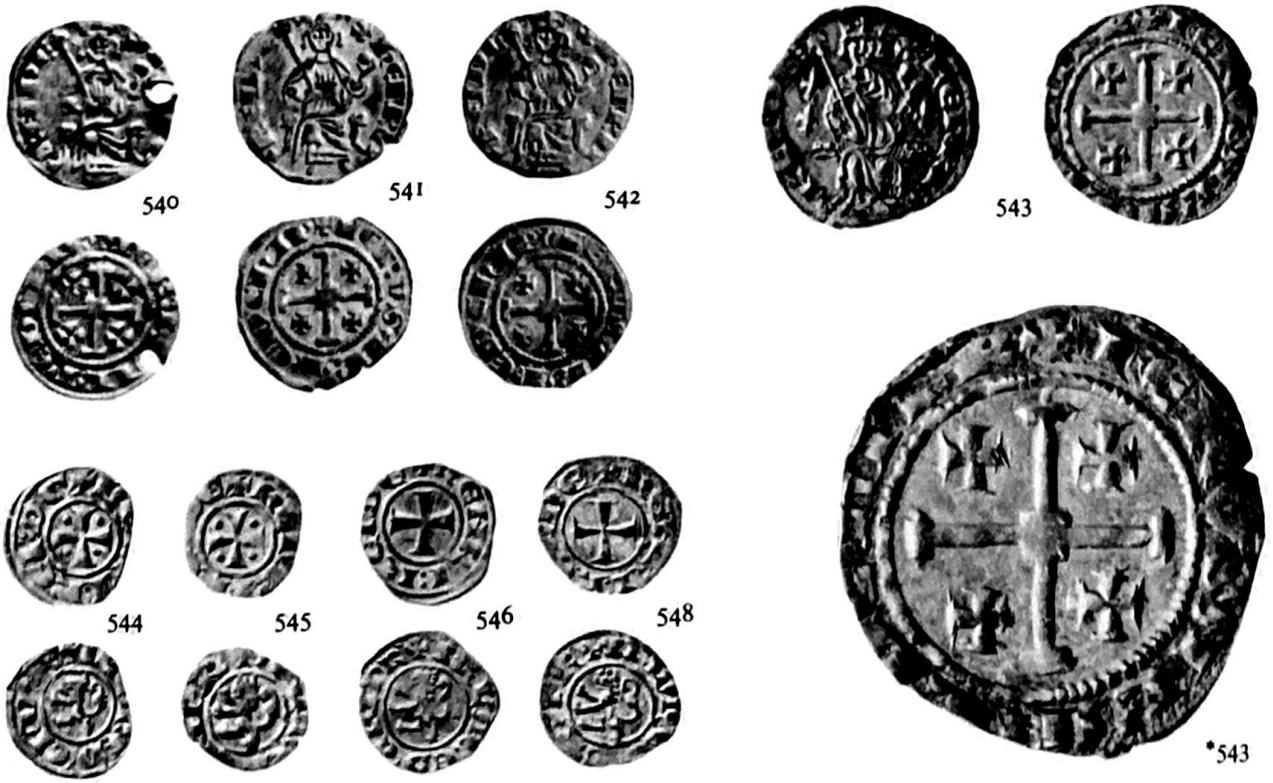
534 535 536 537 538 539



540 541 542 543 *543 544 545 546 548

CYPRUS, HENRY II

PLATE 23

(*Section 18, Cyprus, gros, cont.*)

HUGH IV, 1324–59

First series: two lines at neck (mint?)

Gros grands: no field-mark

550 Crosslet between feet.
4·82 g. (pierced and gilt).
551 4·60 g.
552 4·58 g.

Gros petits

553 2·25 g.
554 2·27 g.

Gros grands: field-mark B *with annulet above*

555 Crosslet between feet. *Rev.* ChIP[RЄ].
4·54 g.
556 Very similar. *Rev.* ChIPR.
4·63 g.
557 Crosslet in field right, but not between feet. *Rev.* ChIPR.
4·57 g.

Gros petit

558 No crosslet between feet. Pellet, rather than annulet, above B?
2·25 g.

Gros grand: field-mark C *with crosslet above*

559 *Rev.* ChIPRЄ.
4·59 g.

Gros petit

560 2.11 g.

Second series: cross at throat (mint?)

Gros grand: no field-mark; experimental legend

561 *Obv.* hUGU/ЄREIDʼ. Three crosslets between feet. No crosslet at throat.
Rev. U, ChIPRʼ. Same die as no. 568.
4·55 g.

Gros petit

562 *Obv.* hUGU/ЄREIDʼ.
Rev. U, ChIPRʼ.
2·18 g. (pierced).

Gros grands

563 *Obv.* U, DЄ‡, nothing between feet.
Rev. U, ChIPR‡.
4·56 g.
564 Similar. 4·63 g.
565 *Obv.* U, DЄ‡, three crosslets between feet.
Rev. U, ChIPRʼ.
4·58 g.
566 *Obv.* U, DЄ‡, no crosslets at feet, pellet at throat.
Rev. U, ChIPRʼ.
4·54 g.
567 *Obv.* hVGVЄ+, DЄ‡.
Rev. U.
3·59 g.
568 *Obv.* V, three crosslets between feet. Same die as no. 569.
Rev. U. Same die as no. 561.

550. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1974.
551, 555. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester (n.d.).
552–3, 557, 559–62, 564–7. Bought 1982, ex Stewart coll.
552, 557. Ex Nicosia hoard of 1951.
554, 558, 568. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll.
556, 563. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.
560. Ex Stavrokono hoard.
564. Ex Dherinia hoard.

CYPRUS, HUGH IV

PLATE 24

(*Section 18, Cyprus, gros, Hugh IV, cont.*)

569 *Obv.* Same die as no. 568.
Rev. With V in IERVSAL'M.
4·58 g.

570 *Obv.* With V, no crosslets at feet.
Rev. With V.
4·60 g.

571 Similar, 4·55 g.

Gros petit

572 Similar, 2·27 g.

Gros grand: field-mark B (*with or without annulet above*)

573 *Obv.* hVGVE, B with annulet above, jewel in shape of inverted lis at throat.
Rev. With V.
4·63 g.

574 *Obv.* Similar, but B without annulet, pierced crosslet at throat.
Rev. With V.
4·58 g.

Gros petits: field mark B

575 *Obv.* With V, pierced crosslet at throat, nothing between feet.
Rev. With V, ChIPRE.
2·27 g.

576 Similar. Same rev. die as 575.
2·27 g.

577 Similar, but *rev.*, ChIPR.
2·19 g. (pierced with large square hole).

Gros grand (*minor mint?*)

578 *Obv.* hVGUE REIDE.
Rev. +IERUSAL'MEDChIPR'.
4·60 g.

PETER I, 1359–69

Obv. +PIERREPARLAGRACED'DIEVROI.
Rev. +DEIERVSALEMEDEChIPRE.

Coins of standard weight (*nos. 579–601*)

With narrow throne

579 *Obv.* Early variety with annulets on throne. Unbarred A.
Rev. Barred A.
4·65 g.

580 Similar, but rev. legend ends with two pierced quatrefoils.
4·65 g.

581 *Obv.* With normal barred A (left leg curved).
Rev. With reversed U, plain barred A (left leg straight), and stop (or double stop?) after M.
4·39 g.

Gros petits

582 *Obv.* Throne in similar perspective to nos. 579–81.
+/PI/E/REROI.
Rev. Unbarred A, 7 for Z. From the same dies as no. 583.
2·35 g.

583 From the same dies as no. 582.
2·25 g.

With wider throne, in oblique perspective

(a) *With annulet at throat*

584 *Obv.* With plain barred A (left leg straight).
Rev. Reversed U; 3; EDE.
4·56 g.

(b) *With pierced crosslet at throat*

585 *Obv.* Carefully drawn double knops on posts of throne. Mixed As. From the same die as no. 586.
Rev. Reversed U; 3; M:EDE.
4·63 g.

586 *Obv.* From the same die as no. 585.
4·47 g.

569, 573, 576, 578. Bought 1982, ex Stewart coll.

570, 572, 574–5, 586. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.

571. Given by Professor E. T. Hall, 1955.

577. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.

578. The obv. is by the same hand as Paralimni hoard 18 (see, for example, the hand holding the globus). The rev. is similar in style to a late die of Henry II (such as no. 533 above), but note that the central square boss is replaced by four projections.

579, 582–3. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, n.d.

580–1, 584–5. Bought 1982, ex North Cyprus hoard, nos. 5, 15, 29, 33.

CYPRUS, HUGH IV AND PETER I

PLATE 25

(*Section 18, Cyprus, gros, Peter I, cont.*)

Dies of exceptionally careful workmanship

587 Large flan.
4·61 g.

Cross at throat, simple dots on posts of throne

588 *Obv.* ⱭR ligate. From the same die as nos. 589–90.
Rev. ⋵D'.
4·54 g.

589 *Obv.* From the same die as nos. 588 and 590.
Rev. ⋵D⋵.
4·57 g.

590 *Obv.* From the same die as nos. 588–9.
Rev. 7 for Ƶ; D'.
4·53 g.

Gros petits

591 *Obv.* PI⋵/R⋵ROID'.
2·16 g.

592 *Obv.* ✚P/I/⋵R⋵·R⋵·.
Rev. ✚D'I⋵RU[..]L⋵M⋵[. .].
2·33 g.

Series with field-mark bird

593 *Obv.* Crown of three dots.
4·52 g.

594 *Obv.* With quatrefoil added in front of throne. From the same dies as no. 595.
4·62 g.

595 From the same dies as no. 594.
4·40 g.

596 Similar, with quatrefoil to left and dot to right on front of throne.
4·51 g.

597 *Obv.* Dot on front of throne to left. Crown does not touch inner circle.
4·68 g.

Series with field-mark I

598 From the same obv. as no. 601.
Rev. Legend ends with two pierced quatrefoils.
4·60 g.

599 From same obv. as no. 600.
Rev. Legend ends with large quatreoil.
4·64 g.

600 From same obv. as no. 599.
4·54 g.

601 From same obv. as no. 598.
4·64 g.

Light-weight series

602 Overstruck.
3·67 g. (pierced).

587. Bought 1972.
588, 592–4. Bought 1982, ex North Cyprus hoard 44, 97, 48, 84.
589. Given by J. G. Milne, 1927.
590–1, 596–7. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, n.d.
595. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.
598–601. Bought 1982, ex North Cyprus hoard, 92–3, 95–6.
602. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1974.

587 588 589 590 593

591 592

594 596 597 598 599

600 601 602 *587

CYPRUS, PETER I

PLATE 26

PETER II, 1369–82

603 4·34 g.
604 *Rev.* Reversed U in IЄRU3ĀLM.
4·60 g.
605 4·63 g.
606 4·64 g.

Gros petits

607 *Obv.* PIЄ/RЄROI. Same die as no. 608.
Rev. +IЄRU3ĀLЄMЄDChIPR.
2·30 g.
608 Same obv. die as no. 607.
2·27 g.

603, 605, 609–10. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.
604. E. S. Bouchier bequest, 1930.
606–7, 612. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1888–9.
608. Bought 1964, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.

JAMES I, 1382–98

Gros grands

609 *Obv.* IĀQV/ЄROID.
Rev. IDЄIЄRV3ĀLЄMDЄC.
4·56 g.
610 *Obv.* IĀQV/ЄROI.
Rev. +DЄIЄR[...]ЄCPR (first Є reversed).
4·23 g. (pierced).

Deniers

611 0·52 g.
612 0·63 g (pierced).
613 0·76 g.

JANUS, 1398–1432

Denier

614 0·53 g.

611. Schlumberger, pl. 7, 9. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1974.
613. Given by P. Grierson, 1964.
614. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.

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611 612 613

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*604

PLATE 27

(*Section 18, Cyprus, gros., cont.*)

JOHN II, 1432–58

615 *Obv.* +IOh . . .
Rev. +DEIGRLM.D.GChIPRE-CDAR[M].
4·30 g.

616 *Obv.* IEA/ROI, P in field right.
Rev. +DIERVSALEM.DhIPRE. Rays at centre of cross.
4·06 g.

617 *Obv.* IOHAMES :DEIGRA.
Rev. +IHRLM:ET:CIPRI:REX.
3·33 g.

CHARLOTTE, 1458–85

618 *Obv.* +CARIOTADIGRAREGINA.
Rev. +IERU3ALM:E:DChIPR.
3·89 g.

JAMES II, 1460–73

619 *Obv.* IACOBS:DEIG. Rider ambling.
Rev. +:R:IERVS:CIPRI:ET ARMIA:. Normal cross of Jerusalem.
3·03 g.

620 *Obv.* :IAC: ·:O BQ ·:DEI:GR·.
Rev. :R:IERVSALEM:CIPRI:ET:A:. Hatched cross.
3·13 g. (pierced).

Sixains

621 *Obv.* Lion. +IACOB[VS DEI GRACIA]REX.
Rev. Cross of Jerusalem +IERVS[. . .]ARMENIE.
1·73 g.

622 1·61 g.

623 1·40 g.

624 2·58 g.

Famagusta. Genoese occupation, 1373–1464

625 *Obv.* +DVVIA[. . .]. Cross.
Rev. +CIV[. . .]MAG. Genoese gateway.
0·60 g.

19. THE LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Imperial mint

Trachea: first issue (*Hendy, Constantinople, Type A*). *Emperor in chlamys, holds labarum and akakia*

(a) *Full size*

626 *Obv.* Mother of God holds distinctive medallion of the Christ-child.
Rev. Dotted border on three sides of chlamys. Inverted pendilia of three dots.
3·33 g.

627 More normal obv.; rev. similar to no. 1.
3·20 g.

628 Similar. *Obv.* with MH ligate.
Rev. Pendilia with single dots.
3·64 g.

629 *Rev.* Circular rather than columnar inscription: ΔECΠOTH. Collar-piece with many dots.
3·75 g. 1·3 per cent silver and 0·6 per cent tin.

630 *Rev.* Circular inscription. Collar-piece with three dots.
3·94 g. 1·2 per cent silver and 0·6 per cent tin.

615, 619. Bought 1974 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll., ex Stavrokono hoard.

616, 620. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, n.d.

616. Cf. Schlumberger, pl. 7, 16.

617–18. Bought 1975 (Friends of the Ashmolean), ex Stewart coll., ex Stavrokono hoard.

617. Cf. Schlumberger, pl. 7, 14.

618. Cf. Schlumberger, pl. 7, 19.

621. Given by Lady Stubbs, 1948, in memory of Sir R. Stubbs.

622–3. Given by Sir C. Warren, 1888.

624. Bought 1964, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.

625. Exchanged 1969, ex A. P. di Cesnola coll.

626. Bought 1969, ex Yenimahalle hoard.

627–30. Bought 1967, ex Turkish hoard.

629. Analysis: *RBN* 1977, no. 207.

630. Ibid., no. 209.

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PLATE 28

(*Section 19, Constantinople, cont.*)

(b) *Intermediate size*

631 *Rev.* Collar-piece with three dots.
2·23 g.
632 2·30 g. 1·1 per cent silver, 0·3 per cent tin.
633 1·94 g.
634 2·27 g.
635 2·98 g.

(c) *Small size, including* (?) *later copies* (*Hendy, small module type A*)

636 Crude rev. 1·32 g.
637 1·34 g. 0·8 per cent silver, 1·0 per cent tin.
638 *Obv.* Mother of God with large head.
2·27 g.
639 Similar? 1·73 g.
640 *Rev.* Collar-piece with numerous dots.
1·98 g. 0·4 per cent silver, 0·3 per cent tin.
641 1·56 g.
642 1·77 g. 0·3 per cent silver, 1·2 per cent tin.
643 *Rev.* With larger figure.
1·46 g.
644 Very small fabric and small dies. Inverted pendilia of three dots.
1·40 g.
645 Pendilia of three dots in a row.
2·16 g.
646 Pendilia of one dot.
0·97 g.
647 Late copy?
1·64 g.
648 Late copy, with pseudo-inscription of dots to left.
0·84 g.

(?) *Imperial mint: second issue* (*Hendy, Constantinople, Type B*). *Emperor in chlamys, holds sword and globus*

(a) *Full size*

649 *Rev.* MANOVHA ΔЄCΠTI.
4·11 g. 0·15 per cent silver, less than 0·1 per cent tin.
650 *Rev.* ΔЄCΠOTH MAИOVHA.
3·01 g.

631–3, 636–7. Bought 1967, ex Turkish hoard (unpublished).
632. Analysis: *RBN* 123 (1977), 127, no. 211.
634. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex (?) Attic hoard, 1959. *ABSA*, vol. 56, no. 1186 and p. 49.
635. Bought 1960, ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.
637. Analysis: no. 213.
638. Sir A. Evans bequest, 1941.
639. Cameron bequest, 1948.
640–6. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.
640–2. Ex (?) Thessaly hoard, 1957. *ABSA* nos. 83–5. Analysis: 640, no. 218; 642, no. 219.
643. Bought Athens, 1959.
644–6. From an unpublished hoard sold in Athens in 1963.
644. Fabric and style suggest that this coin, in particular, might belong to the other mint.
647–8. Bought 1969, ex 'Peter and Paul' hoard (*NC* 1973).
647. Large-featured. Central Greek?
648. 'Thessalonican' fabric?
649. F. Douce bequest, 1834. Analysis: no. 221.
650. Bought 1969, ex Yenimahalle hoard.

631 632 633 634 635

636 637 638 639 640 641

642 643 644 645 646 647 648

649 650

THE LATIN EMPIRE

PLATE 29

(*Section 19, Constantinople, cont.*)

651 Similar, severely clipped. 0·92 g.

(b) *Medium size*

652 *Rev.* Illeg. to left, MAIIIINI to right.
2·13 g.

(c) *Small size*

653 Similar, pseudo-inscription IIII to right.
1·65 g.
654 0·97 g. 0·27 per cent silver, 0·5 per cent tin.

(*?*) *Venetian mint*

Trachea: first issue (*Hendy, Thessalonica, Type A*). *Bust of emperor in loros*

(a) *Full size*

655 *Rev.* with pendilia of two dots.
2·74 g. 0·15 per cent silver, 0 per cent tin.
656 *Rev.* with inverted pendilia of three dots.
2·67 g.

(b) *Medium size*

657 *Rev.* With inverted pendilia of three dots.
2·06 g.
658 Similar. Pendilia of (?) four dots.
2·53 g.

(c) *Small size*

659 Similar to no. 657, 1·70 g.
660 1·32 g.
661 1·07 g.
662 1·70 g.
663 Small dies, 1·19 g.

Second issue (*Hendy, Thessalonica, Type B*). *Emperor in heavily jewelled chlamys, holds cross-sceptre and globus*

664 2·33 g.
665 *Rev.* With pendilia of four dots.
1·77 g. 0·5 per cent silver, 0·2 per cent tin.
666 2·52 g.
667 *Rev.* With inverted pendilia of three dots.
2·76 g.
668 2·37 g.

651–3. Bought 1969, ex 'Peter and Paul' hoard (*NC* 1973).
654. Cameron bequest, 1948. Analysis: no. 226.
655. Bought 1967, ex Turkish hoard. Analysis: no. 229.
656, 664. Bought 1969, ex Yenimahalle hoard.
657–68. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.

657–60, 665–8. From an unpublished hoard sold in Athens in 1963.
661–2. Ex (?) Thessaly hoard, 1957. *ABSA*, vol. 56, nos. 52–3.
663. Ibid., no. 1188.

PLATE 30

20. THESSALONICA UNDER LATIN RULE

Imitations of trachea of Alexius III

669 3·56 g. 0 per cent silver, 0·2 per cent tin.
670 2·49 g.

Imitation of (?) Venetian trachy, first issue

671 3·66 g.

21. FRANKISH GREECE: PETTY COINAGE

ATHENS

Type 3

672 *Obv.* G·DVX:ΛT[...
Rev. :ThEBE CIVIS:.
0·69 g, 2 per cent silver.

ACHAIA

Type 8

673 *Obv.* G.PRINCEPS·.
Rev. +ΛChΛIΛ.
0·83 g, 10 per cent silver.

Type 9

674 *Obv.* G·P·ΛCCΛIE·.
Rev. ·CORIHTVM.
1·05 g.
675 0·59 g.

22. FRANKISH GREECE: DENIERS TOURNOIS

IMPORTED TOURNOIS

France: royal coins

Philip II, 1180–1223

Obv. +PHILIPVS REX. Cross.
Rev. SCSMΛRTINVS. Châtel.

676 0·51 g (chipped).
677 *Obv.* Ends RE. 0·65 g.
678 *Obv.* Ends RE (?). 0·61 g.
679 0·50 g.
680 (Fragmentary.)
681 0·68 g.
682 *Obv.* No initial cross. 0·95 g.

Louis VIII or IX, 1223–6, 1226–70

Obv. +LVDOVICVSREX. Cross.
Rev. +TVRONVSCIVI. Châtel.

683 0·79 g.
684 0·69 g.
685 0·56 g.
686 0·65 g.
687 0·47 g.
688 0·86 g.
689 0·46 g.
690 *Obv.* Ends RC, with annulet inside the C. 0·65 g.
691 *Rev.* Ends CIVIS. 0·75 g.
692 0·92 g.
693 0·73 g.
694 0·82 g.
695 0·64 g.
696 Similar? (Fragmentary.)

Feudal issues

Auvergne: mint of Riom (Alphonse of Poitiers, as lord of the Terre d'Auvergne, 1229/30–71)

697 *Obv.* ΛLFVNSVSCOMES. Châtel.
Rev. +DERIOMENSIS. Cross. 0·43 g.

Comtat-Venaissin: mint of Pont-de-Sorgues (Alphonse of Poitiers, marquis of Provence, 1251–71)

698 *Obv.* Λ.COMES.TOLOSE. Châtel.
Rev. +MΛRChPVINCIE. Cross.
0·56 g.
699 0·92 g.
700 0·85 g.
701 0·77 g.
702 0·58 g.

Languedoc: mint of Toulouse (Alphonse of Poitiers, as count of Toulouse, 1251–63)

703 *Obv.* +Λ.COMFLIVSR[EFR]. Cross.
Rev. ThOLOSΛCIVI. Châtel.
0·94 g.

Poitou: mint of Montreuil-Bonnin? (Alphonse of Poitiers, count of Poitou, 1251–71)

704 *Obv.* +ΛLFVNSVSCOHES. Cross.
Rev. PICTΛVIEHTSIS. Châtel.
0·55 g.

Provence: mint of Avignon, Tarascon, or Saint-Remi (Charles I of Anjou, as count of Provence, 1246–85)

705 *Obv.* +K:CO·P.[FI.RE.F]. Cross.
Rev. PVINCIΛLIS. Châtel with fleur-de-lis.
0·82 g.

[*cont.*

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THESSALONICA; FRANKISH GREECE

PLATE 31

Plate 30 cont.

Touraine: mint of the abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours

706 *Obv.* +TVRONVSCIVI. Cross.
Rev. SCSMARTINVS. Châtel.
0·88 g.

707 0·83 g.

708 0·69 g.

709 0·54 g.

710 0·55 g.

711 Another style. Perhaps an imitation?
0·80 g.

669. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982. From an unpublished hoard sold in Athens in 1963. (Cf. nos. 657 ff. above.) Analysis: *RBN* 123 (1977), 124, no. 143.

670. Bought 1969, ex 'Peter and Paul' hoard (*NC* 1973).

671. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982. Ex (?) Thessaly hoard, 1957 (*ABSA* vol. 56, no. 54).

672. Bought 1960 ex E. C. F. Beasley coll.

673. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.

674. Given by Mr D. W. Burge, 1971.

675. Bought 1965.

676, 679–80, 682, 686–9, 691–6, 700–2, 706, 708–10. Bought 1982, ex (?) Attica hoard 1971.

677–8, 681, 683–5, 690, 697–9, 704–5, 707, 711. Given by Professor M. Biddle, 1982, ex (?) Attica hoard 1971.

703. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Pylia hoard.

ACHAIA

William II, 1246–78

Variety G1

712 Deeply struck, large lettering. 0·84 g.

Variety G2

713 *Obv.* ✠:G·PRINCEP⌒. 0·88 g.
714 0·92 g.

Variety G3

715 1·00 g.
716 0·72 g. 26·4 per cent silver.

Variety G4

717 1·01 g.

Variety G11

718 0·89 g.

Variety G12

719 1·03 g.

Variety G13

720 0·89 g.

Charles I and Charles II, 1278–1285–1289

Variety K2

721 0·95 g.
722 0·72 g. 26·2 per cent silver.

Variety K3

723 0·91 g.

Variety K11

724 0·81 g.
725 0·93 g.
726 0·78 g. 26·1 per cent silver.

Florent, 1289–97

Variety F1

727 *Obv.* ✠:, etc. 0·94 g. 29·0 per cent silver.

Variety F2

728 0·64 g. 25·7 per cent silver.
729 0·80 g.
730 0·68 g.

Variety F3

731 0·88 g.
732 0·89 g.
733 0·61 g.

Variety F4

734 0·85 g.

Isabelle, 1297–1301

Variety Y1

735 0·84 g.
736 0·89 g.
737 0·77 g.

Variety with obv. ✠✱

738 (Star of eight rays.) 0·81 g.
739 (Star of six rays.) 0·85 g.

Variety with obv. ✠ *lis*

740 *Rev.* ·✠. 0·88 g.

Variety Y2

741 0·75 g.

Variety with obv., *trefoils*, rev. *crescent* ✠

742 Rounded A and A, barred A. 0·83 g.

Variety Y3

743 *Obv.* ✠ leaf, etc. 0·72 g.
744 Similar, (?) without nail at end of rev. legend. 0·75 g.
745 *Obv.* Leaf ✠ etc. 0·79 g.

Philip of Savoy, 1301–7

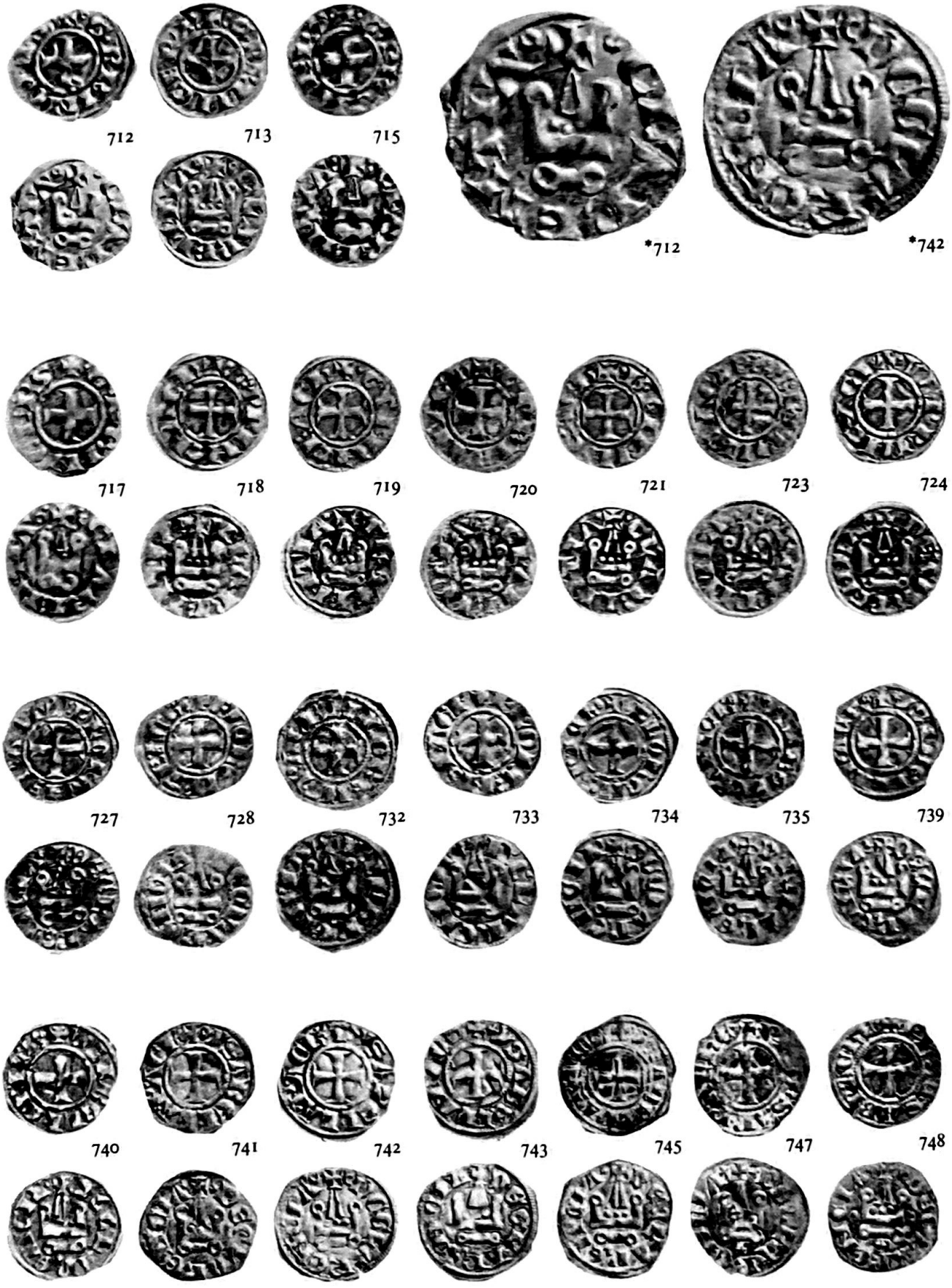
Variety PS 1

746 0·79 g.
747 0·82 g.

Variety PS 2

748 0·85 g.

712–13, 742. Bought 1974, ex Megara hoard.
714, 720, 734, 747. Bought 1970, ex Pylia hoard.
715, 718, 727, 731, 735–6. Bought 1969, ex Pylia hoard.
716, 726, 728, 738. Given by Mr M. Rosenheim, 1914, ex Grantley coll.
716. Analysis: UM 339.
717, 719, 721, 723–4, 732, 740. Bought 1976, ex Pylia hoard.
722. Bought 1946. Analysis: UM 338.
725, 737. Given by Münzen und Medaillen AG, 1969.
726. Analysis: UM 337.
728. Analysis: UM 340.
729. Given by Dr C. M. Kraay, 1969. From Ioannina.
730, 731. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1974.
733, 744. Given by Professor M. Biddle, 1982, ex (?) Attica hoard, 1971.
739, 741, 748. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.
744. H. de S. Shortt bequest, 1975.
746. Ancien fonds (Bodleian Library).



FRANKISH GREECE: ACHAIA

PLATE 32

Philip of Taranto, 1307–13

Variety PT1

749 0·94 g.
750 0·90 g.
751 0·83 g.

Variety PT2

752 0·69 g.

Variety PT3

753 0·98 g.
754 0·72 g.

Maud of Hainaut, 1316–21

Variety with Ɑ *to left of châtel*

755 0·73 g.
756 0·70 g.

Variety with annulet to left of châtel and plant beneath

757 0·79 g.
758 0·85 g.
759 0·84 g.

John of Gravina, 1322–33

Variety with annulet or dot to each side of châtel, and ɯ *beneath*

760 D'ƆLΛRЄNƆIΛ. 0·83 g.
761 0·89 g.
762 0·76 g.

Variety with crosslet beneath châtel

763 DЄƆLΛRЄNƆIΛ. 0·81 g.
764 0·80 g.

Variety with large dot beneath châtel

765 DЄƆLΛRЄNƆIΛ. 0·91 g.

Variety with dots in second and third quarters on obv.

766 DЄƆLΛRЄNƆIΛ. 0·84 g.

Robert of Taranto, 1333–64

767 ƆLΛRЄNƆIΛ. Secret mark beneath chatel, (?) R.
0·89 g.
768 Similar. The secret mark is almost certainly R.
0·77 g.

ATHENS

William I, 1280–7

Variety A1

769 *Obv.* ⁘G⁘DVX⁘ΛTЄNЄS.
Rev. ⁘ThЄBЄ⁘CIVIS. 0·83 g.
770 0·90 g. 22·0 per cent silver.
771 0·84 g. 23·4 per cent silver.
772 0·73 g. 23·8 per cent silver.

Variety A2

773 *Obv.* ✝·G·DVXΛTЄHIS.
Rev. ·✝· ThЄBЄ·CIVIS.
0·78 g. 19·8 per cent silver.
774 *Obv.* ·✝G·DVX·ΛTЄHIS.
0·77 g. 21·3 per cent slver.

Variety A3

775 *Obv.* ✝⁘G·DVXDΛTENES.
Rev. ✝⁘ThEBES·CIVIS. Châtel with arches.
0·94 g.
776 *Obv.* ·✝⁘G⁘DVX⁘ΛTENES.
Rev. ✝⁘ThEBE⁘CIVIS. Châtel with arches.
0·78 g.
777 Similar, with ⁘✝⁘ on obv. and rev., and plain châtel.
0·81 g.

Variety A5

778 *Obv.* ✝⁘G·DVX·ΛTЄNЄS.
Rev. ·✝⁘ThЄBЄ⁘CIVIS, small I.
0·80 g.

William I, 1280–7 or Guy II, 1287–1308

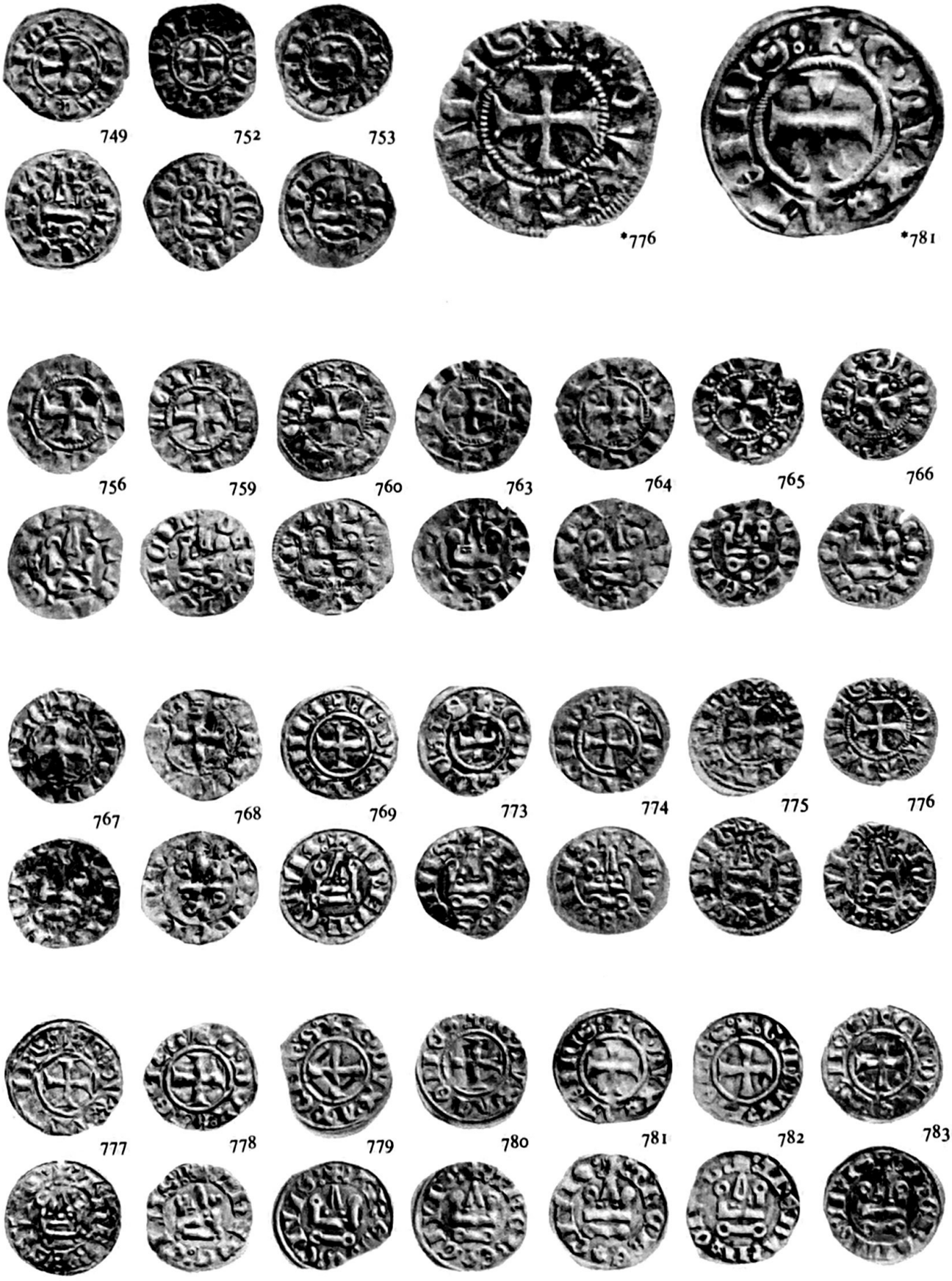
Variety A7

779 *Obv.* ·✝⁘G·DVX·ΛTЄNЄS.
Rev. ⁘✝⁘ThЄBЄ⁘CIVIS.
0·65 g.
780 *Obv.* ⁘✝⁘G·DVX·ΛTЄNЄS.
Rev. ⁘✝⁘ThЄBЄ⊙CIVIS.
0·73 g.
781 *Obv.* ⁘✝⁘G·DVX⊙ΛTЄNЄS.
Rev. ⁘✝⁘ThЄBЄ⊙CIVIS.
0·92 g.
782 *Obv.* ⁘✝⁘GVI·DVX⊙ΛTЄNЄS.
Rev. ⁘✝⁘ThЄBΛHI⊙CIVIS.
0·77 g.

Variety A7/A8 transitional or mule?

783 *Obv.* ·✝·GVI·DVX⊙ΛTЄNЄS. Lettering style A7.
Rev. ✝ThЄBΛHI⊙CIVIS. Letter V without foot. Rosette approximates to spur rowel.
0·86 g.

[*cont.*



FRANKISH GREECE: ACHAIA, ATHENS

PLATE 33

Plate 32 (cont.)

749, 777. Bought 1970, ex Pylia hoard.
750–2. Ancien fonds (Bodleian Library).
753. Bought 1969, ex Acarnania hoard (*ANSMN* 17 (1971), 219 f.).
754, 756–8, 760–1, 763–4, 771–2, 774. Given by Mr M. Rosenheim, 1914, ex Grantley sale.
755, 788. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1982.
759. H. de S. Shortt bequest, 1975.
762. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.
765–7. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.
768. Given by Mr Costas Chr. Hadziotis, 1975.
769. Bought 1976, ex Pylia hoard.
770. Ancien fonds. Analysis: UM 342.
771. Analysis: UM 344.
772. Analysis: UM 345.
773. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892. Analysis: UM 341.
774. Analysis: UM 343.
775–6. Bought 1969, ex Pylia hoard.
778–83. Bought 1974, ex Megara hoard.

(*Section 22, Frankish Greece: deniers tournois, cont.*)

Variety A8

784 *Obv.* ·+·G·DVXΛTЄNЄS. Letter S with dot at centre.
Rev. I+ThЄBЄCIVIS. Letter S with dot at centre.
0·90 g.

785 *Obv.* :+:GVIDVX:ΛTЄHЄS.
Rev. :+:ThЄBΛHI:CIVIS.
0·92 g.

786 *Obv.* ·+·GVIDVX·ΛTЄHЄS.
Rev. ·+·ThЄBΛHI:CIVIS.
0·68 g.

787 *Obv.* ·+·GVIDVX:ΛTЄHЄS.
Rev. :+ThЄBΛHI·CIVIS. Spur rowel beneath châtel.
0·87 g.

788 Similar, without stops. Spur rowel.
0·81 g.

789 *Obv.* ·+·GVIDVX·ΛTЄHЄS (trefoil stops).
Rev. ·+·ThЄBΛHI:CIVIS.
0·85 g.

790 0·86 g.

791 *Obv.* ·+:GVI·DVX:ΛTЄHЄS.
Rev. ··+··ThЄBΛHI·CIVIS ('ermine' stops).
0·80 g.

792 *Obv.* :+:GVI:DVX:ΛTЄHЄS.
Rev. Spur rowel + spur rowel ThЄBΛHI:CIVIS.
0·90 g.

793 Similar, but *rev.*, crescent + crescent.
0·84 g.

EPIRUS: DESPOTS OF ROMANIA

Philip of Taranto, 1254–1313

Variety E1, a

794 *Obv.* :+ pierced saltire PhSPΛCh'TΛRCR (for DR).
Rev. ·+ lis NЄPΛHTICIVIS. Lis beneath châtel.
0·88 g.

795 *Obv.* +:, etc.
Rev. Similar to 794, but closed C, Є.
0·60 g.

796 0·89 g.

797 0·72 g.

Variety E1, b

798 *Obv.* Lis + leaf PhSPTΛRDЄSP. Open Є exactly as on no. 794.
Rev. +·HЄPΛNTICIVIS.
0·74 g.

799 *Obv.* The Є is similar but closed.
Rev. +·HЄPΛHTICIVIS.
0·82 g.

Variety E2

800 *Obv.* Lis + leaf PhSP·TΛR'DЄSP.
Rev. Chrismon +INЄPΛNTICIVIS.
0·74 g.

801 *Obv.* Lis with two dots above + lis with two dots above, etc.
Rev. Crosslet +I, etc.
0·78 g.

802 *Obv.* :+ lis PhS·PTΛR'DЄSP.
Rev. Crosslet + small I NЄPΛNTICIVIS.
0·77 g.

803 Similar, but undotted Ns, 0·75 g.

804 0·77 g.

805 0·82 g.

806 Similar, but *obv.*, : lis +, etc.
0·74 g.

MINOR MINTS

Karytaina: Helena

807 *Obv.* +hELENĀ·DIGR¯Ā.
Rev. +·CLĀRICTIĀSF.
0·85 g.

Neopatras: John II

808 *Obv.* ·+ΛNGЄLVSSΛB·C.
Rev. ·+DЄLLΛPΛTRΛ.
0·65 g.

809 Similar, with C at end of rev. legend.
0·60 g.

784, 786, 789, 792, 794–5, 798–9, 801–2. Bought 1974, ex Megara hoard.

785, 793. Bought 1976, ex Pylia hoard.

787. Bought 1974.

790, 796–7, 800, 804, 808. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1982.

791. Bought 1970, ex Pylia hoard.

794–7. Schlumberger, pl. 13, 26.

798–806. Ibid., pl. 13, 20.

803. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.

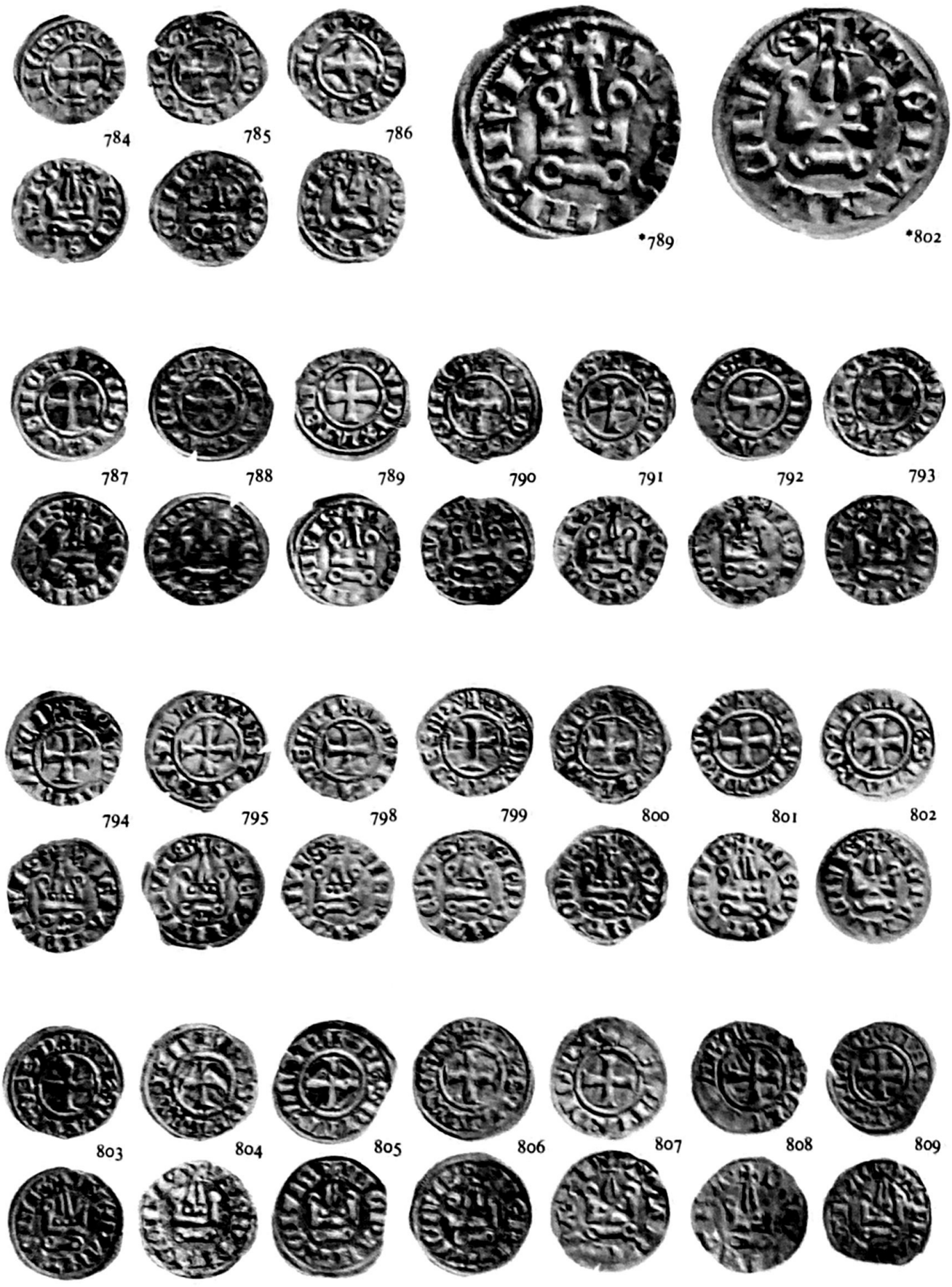
805. Bought 1969.

806. Given by Mr M. Rosenheim, 1914, ex Grantley sale.

807, 809. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982.

807. Schlumberger, pl. 12, 28.

808–9. Ibid., pl. 13, 18.



FRANKISH GREECE: ATHENS, EPIRUS, KARYTAINA, NEOPATRAS

PLATE 34

(*Section 22, Frankish deniers tournois, cont.*)

CONTEMPORARY COUNTERFEITS

Counterfeit of a coin of Isabelle

810 *Obv.* +ISABELL[ ]AIII.
Rev. +CCLAIDHCIA·.
1·13 g.

Counterfeit of a coin of Philip of Savoy

811 *Obv.* [ ]SDSABPA·Dh·C·.
Rev. +D[ ]·A·ICL·CPA·I. Dot to left of châtel.
0·64 g.

Counterfeits of Epirote coins of Philip of Taranto

812 *Obv.* +PISPTAPDESP, secret mark.
Rev. +NEPVNTICIAIS·, all retrograde, the A, V, and T upside down.
0·79 g.

813 *Obv.* +PICITIAISIDEAIS·.
Rev. +NEPAIIIICIAIVS.
0·83 g.

Counterfeit of an Achaian coin?

814 Blundered legends.
0·75 g., with silvering over a base metal core.

Later imitations

Seltman, class c

815 *Obv.* +GVIDVXATENES.
Rev. +ThEBANICIVIS.
0·59 g. Copper.

816 Similar, but blundered legends.
0·63 g. Copper.

Seltman, class g

817 With lis in place of annulets on the châtel.
0·80 g.

818 Crude linear style.
0·57 g.

24. THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN AT RHODES

GIGLIATI AND ASPERS, 1319–*c.*1360

Helion of Villeneuve, 1319–46

First variety: lighter weight? (or clipped?)

819 *Obv.* ·+·FR·ELIONꝺ' VILENOVA·D'I·GRA·MR.
Rev. ·+·OSPITAL'S'IOh'IS·IRL'MI·OT'·RODI.
3·62 g.

820 3·66 g (pierced).

821 3·55 g (pierced).

First variety: normal weight

822 3·86 g.

823 3·95 g.

824 3·91 g (pierced).

825 3·89 g (pierced).

826 3.89 g (pierced).

827 3·89 g (pierced).

828 Similar, but ELIOꝺ.
3·96 g (pierced).

829 3·87 g.

810, 812–13. Given by Dr Metcalf, 1982, ex Pylia hoard.
811. Given by Professor M. Biddle, 1982, ex (?) Attica hoard.
814. Given by Mr H. L. Weller, 1981.
815. Bought 1946.
816. Exchanged, 1958.
817. Given by Mr N. du Quesne Bird, 1974.
818. Bought 1970.
819, 824–8. Revd G. T. Chester bequest, 1892.
820–3, 829. Given by the Revd G. T. Chester, 1889–90.

FRANKISH GREECE: COUNTERFEITS AND IMITATIONS.
THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN

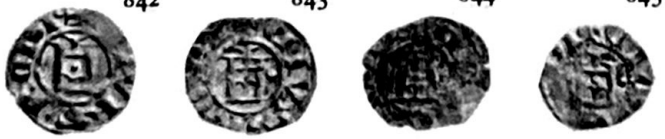
PLATE 35

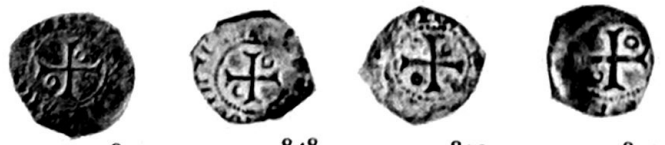
830 831 832

833 835 836

837 838 839 840 841

842 843 844 845





847 848 850 851

*830

PLATE 16

Schl., pl.	*Oxford*
12, 24	755–9
12, 25	760–6
12, 26	(Venice: soldino.)
12, 27	767–8
12, 28	807
12, 29	Fig. 24
12, 30–1	Fig. 22
12, 32	672 and Fig. 22
12, 33–5	—
13, 1	Fig. 22
13, 2–5	769–84
13, 6, 8, 11–12	Fig. 22
13, 7	—
13, 9–10	783–93
13, 13–14	Fig. 23
13, 15	Fig. 22
13, 16	—
13, 17–19	808–9
13, 20, 26	794–806
13, 21–3	(Byzantine.)
13, 24	—
13, 25	(Manfred of Sicily.)
13, 27	Fig. 25
13, 28	Fig. 26
13, 29	Fig. 27
13, 30	Cf. Figs. 28–9
13, 31–2	Fig. 29
14, 1 and 4	—
14, 2–3	Fig. 28
14, 5, 7–10	Fig. 31
14, 4, 11–19	Cf. Fig. 32
14, 20–1	Fig. 30
14, 22–8	—
15, 1–23	—
16, 1, 3–20, 22–36	—
16, 2	Fig. 33
16, 21	Fig. 34
17, 1–36	—
18, 1–18	—
19, 1–2	—
19, 3	124
19, 4	Fig. 8
19, 5–7	—
19, 8	494
19, 9	Cf. Fig. 2
19, 10	620
19, 11–18, 19–28	—
19, 20–1	Fig. 35
20, 1	—
20, 2	250–1
20, 3	Fig. 5
20, 4	125
20, 5–7	—
20, 8–9, 11	Cf. Fig. 9
20, 12	594–5
20, 13	Fig. 20
20, 14–27	—
20, 28	Fig. 22
21, 1–23	—